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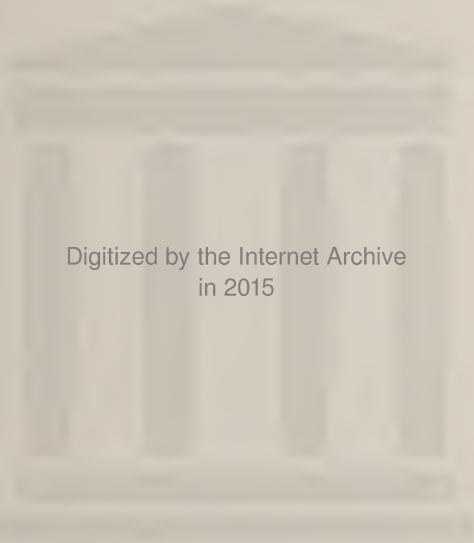

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THE WORKS

OF

ARCHBISHOP BRAMHALL.

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THE

WORKS

OF THE

MOST REVEREND FATHER IN GOD,

JOHN BRAMHALL, D.D.

SOMETIME LORD ARCHBISHOP OF ARMAGH,
PRIMATE AND METROPOLITAN OF ALL IRELAND.

WITH

A LIFE OF THE AUTHOR,

AND A COLLECTION OF HIS LETTERS.

VOL. I.

OXFORD:
JOHN HENRY PARKER.
MDCCCXLII.

OXFORD :
PRINTED BY I. SHRIMPTON.

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PREFACE.

The Works of Archbishop Bramhall were collected, and published at Dublin in a large folio volume, in 1674-7, a few years after the author's death. In republishing them, the order, in which they were then arranged, will be strictly followed. They were divided in that arrangement, principally according to the subjects treated, into four Parts. Of the first of these, containing the Discourses against the Romanists, the present volume comprises the first two Discourses, viz., the "Answer to La Milletière," and the "Just Vindication of the Church of England from the Unjust Aspersion of Criminal Schism." The paging of the same edition is retained in the present upon the inner margin of the page.

Of the two Discourses now published, the text of the first has been corrected by that of the earlier editions of the work in 1653 and 1654. Neither of these, unfortunately, was printed under the author's own superintendence; the former having been taken from a copy of his MS. procured surreptitiously, and the latter being merely a reprint by the same parties, with one and one only correction by the author himself[a]. They are, however, the only editions, to which any weight can be attached; since no steps were taken by Bramhall himself, beyond a general acknowledgment and this one correction, towards publishing an accurate copy of his tract; nor did the Dublin editor make use of any new materials (if any were within his reach), but contented himself with reprinting the former of the early editions, uncorrected.

A similar course has been followed with the second treatise

[a] See pp. xxvi., 45. l. 32, 276. note u.

in the volume. Of this, as of the Answer, there are two separate editions, the original one of 1654 and another published in 1661; the former printed in London while the author was in Holland, and confessedly full of errors; the latter, a mere reprint of this, corrected according to its table of errata, by the same publisher. The two however (so far as the Editor is aware) are the only separate editions of the work, certainly the only editions to which any authority belongs; the folio text being merely a (very careless) reprint of the first of them, uncorrected, unless in obvious typographical mistakes. In the present volume, the edition of 1654 has been followed, with the correction of course of its acknowledged errors.

The refcrences[b], in both treatises, have been verified and corrected to the extent of the Editor's ability; and additional references given wherever they seemed to be required. In a few cases unfortunately, but those it is hoped of no material consequence, he has failed in his search, either for the book quoted, or for the quotation itself. Such failure is specified in each case[c]; and in the notes, and throughout, whatever has been added is marked by brackets, unless in a few trifling and obvious instances (e. g. the fuller writing of an abbre-

[b] Of the books, which are frequently quoted, and of which there are various editions, the following have been used, unless it is in any case otherwise specified.

S. Augustin.
S. Ambrose
S. Hieron.
Gregor. M.
} ed. Bened.

S. Chrys., ed. Savil.
S. Cyprian, ed. Fell.
Tertullian, Paris. 1634.
Beda, Op., Colon. 1612.
Biblioth. Patrum, Colon. 1618.
Concil., ed. Labb. et Cossart., Paris. 1671.
Matth. Paris., ed. Wats., Lond. 1640.
Gul. Malmesb.
Rog. Hoveden.
} ap. Savil., Rer. Anglic. Script., Franc. 1601.

Gerson., Op., Paris. 1521.
Antiq. Brit. Eccles., Hanov. 1650.
Foxe, Acts and Monum., Lond. 1684.
Clarendon, 4to. Oxf. 1816.
Jer. Taylor, ed. Heber.
Field, Of the Church, Lond. 1628.
Collier, Ch. Hist., fol. Lond. 1708, 1714.
Platina, Colon. Agripp. 1626.
S. Clara, Lugdun. 1635.
Bellarm., Controv., Ingoldst. 1571.

[c] This has been overlooked in one case, p. 142, note a. And a more serious error has inadvertently been committed in another note (p. 180, note b), in the explanation given of the term "devolution." The word really means the 'lapse of a right of patronage to a superior, through neglect to present on the part of an inferior, patron' (Du Maillane, Dictionn. du Droit Canonique); and is distinguished in French law-language from the term 'dévolut,' which signifies a similar lapse through incapacity in the presentee of an inferior patron.

viated name), where it appeared useless to disfigure the page in order to point them out.

The quotations in the text of the treatises themselves, where they are *verbally* exact or nearly so, are marked with double commas; where such exactness does not exist, with single commas.

The orthography (with the exception of a few words[d], where it seemed worth while to preserve a peculiar or characteristic mode of spelling) has been throughout modernised (excepting of course in the Letters, mentioned below); as there appeared to be little in it in general either to mark the style of the author or to illustrate the history of the language.

The running titles, placed in the outer margin of the page, have been filled up where they appeared deficient (the additions being of course marked as such); so as to make them, as far as possible, a complete abstract of the text. It has seemed worth while, also, to follow the example of a late editor of the Answer to La Milletière in placing the titles in question, with such additions from the text as were needful to adapt them for the purpose, at the head of each treatise, as a table of contents.

Prefixed to the treatises themselves will be found, 1, a Life of the Author; 2, a Sermon preached at his funeral by Jeremy Taylor; 3, a Collection of his Letters, with a few other original documents relating to him; and 4, a translation of that part of La Milletière's work (viz., the Dedicatory Epistle at the commencement of it), to which the Answer is a reply.

1. Of the Lives of Bramhall already existing, two only are sufficiently short, to render them admissible into a volume like the present; viz. those of Mr. Harris in his edition of Sir James Ware, and of Mr. Morant in the Biographia Britannica. The latter has been preferred, as being, on

[d] Viz. The words extrinsecal, intrinsecal, accessary, loth, stedfast, which are almost invariably spelt by Bramhall as here marked. He uses also the words intercessed, *en*oil, apostate (as a *verb*), appli*a*ble, substract. In two other cases of a similar kind his mode of spelling has not been retained, viz., connivence for conniv*a*nce, and m*e*snage, m*e*snagery, &c., for m*a*nage, m*a*nagery, &c.

the one hand, a more concise abstract of the verbose and tedious Life prefixed by Dr. Vesey to the folio edition, from which both are derived, and, on the other, as comprising a larger range of information drawn from other sources. It has been taken from the second edition of the work, with only so much however of the additional notes of that edition as seemed to be worth reprinting[f]. It is necessary to add,—since the contrary is the case in one instance[g],—that it is upon the whole a very fair and adequate representation of the original, from which it is abridged. In republishing it, several errors have been corrected, and considerable additions made; especially in the long foot notes (which, for the sake of convenience, have been here thrown into an appendix[h]), and most especially in the account of Bramhall's Works. For some further and valuable information (which will be found in note n. p. cxiii.) the Editor begs to express his thanks to Dr. Todd, of Dublin, who also, with very great kindness, revised the greater part of the Life itself.

2. It has been thought worth while to reprint likewise the Sermon preached at Bramhall's funeral by Jeremy Taylor, as (besides its own merits) containing a sketch of the Primate's life and character, entirely independent of that drawn by Dr. Vesey. The Oration, pronounced upon the same occasion by Dr. Loftus, would probably have been preferred, had the Editor come into earlier possession of it, as being a tract of great rarity, and more exclusively employed upon its subject, whilst its information and line of thought are, equally with Bishop Taylor's, independent of Dr. Vesey. The Sermon however was in type before the Oration was procured. It is exactly reprinted from the text of Bishop Heber, with the addition of several, although far from all, of the references that are wanting in his edition.

3. The Letters of Dr. Bramhall here collected are sixteen in number, two of which are now for the first time printed.

[e] See p. iii.
[f] See pp. xxxvi—xxxviii.
[g] See p. xx. text to note s.
[h] pp. xvi—xxxv.

For one of these, No. XI., the Editor is indebted to the kindness of the Provost and Fellows of Queen's College, Oxford, whose Library possesses the MS. of Bishop Barlow containing it; for the other, numbered XVIII., he returns his thanks to Mr. Upcott, in whose extensive collection of letters the original is preserved[i]. The sources whence the remaining letters have been taken will be found stated in the notes upon each.

Three other documents are added to the Letters: viz., the Will of Archbishop Bramhall, already printed in the preface to the Rawdon Papers, whence it has been copied; the public and solemn recognition of his services by the Irish Convocation of 1661, never before published, for which the Editor has a second time to thank Dr. Todd; and a Latin inscription to his memory taken from the folio edition of his works.

4. The translation of the Epistle Dedicatory of La Mille-tière's Victoire de la Vérité originally appeared with Bramhall's Answer in 1653; it was reprinted with considerable alterations in the new edition of the Answer in 1654, and again from that of 1653 in the folio edition of Bramhall's Works. That in the present volume has been corrected by the original French; and, although still far from elegant, will be found, it is hoped, at all events,—what it was not before, accurate and intelligible. Marginal titles have also been added: and the error[k] corrected, which has hitherto prevailed in the spelling of the author's name. It must be confessed, however, that the error in question appears to have originated with Bramhall himself, and not with the self-appointed editors of his Answer; since it occurs both in the Just Vindication, and wherever in his other works he has occasion to mention the name. The present Editor has ventured to correct it in every case. For the convenience

[i] There is a clause in this letter almost illegible. A different interpretation to the one given in p. cxvii. has been kindly supplied by Mr. Upcott as the more probable of the two, viz., "*winds* prove clearer," for "*leases* prove clearer." The words, between which the question lies, are not so unlike as they may at first sight appear to be; nor does the context disagree with either.

[k] See p. cxli. note b.

of the printer, the Epistle has been quoted in the margin of the Answer by the marginal, i. e. the folio, paging.

It remains to say a few words of the works themselves republished.

An examination of the authorities, upon which the arguments of the Just Vindication are founded, has proved most satisfactorily the soundness of the author's positions. It has at the same time brought to light the existence of a few unimportant errors in minor points. In making this acknowledgment, let it in fairness be remembered,—first, that for most of these errors the printer is probably responsible and not the author[l], the handwriting of the latter being far from easily legible, whilst (as has been seen) he was unable personally to superintend the printing of his work; and secondly, that, where the author is himself responsible, he may still reasonably claim indulgence for what are after all but a very few errors, in a work written under the hardships and uncertainties of poverty and exile[m], from recollections and notes of past reading, with but scanty present opportunities of access to books, and in an argument based upon a very large and minute induction. Nor is there reason to do more than thus advert to the subject, since each error has been noticed as it occurs, whilst all taken together do not in the slightest degree tend to invalidate even the minor branches of the argument of the work. One or two isolated points may, perhaps, be too strongly put; but the masterly and comprehensive reasoning, the terse and emphatic statement, the well-marked and consistent system, which are the great merits of Bramhall's writings, rest untouched upon a broad and firm foundation.

There is another and an unpleasant subject, referring more particularly to the first of the two treatises, which, though it may seem invidious to notice it, yet must not be passed over in silence. It is impossible to read a sentence of Bram-

[l] e. g. "four" for "forty," in p. 181. l. 20, (see p. 181, note g.); "520" for "500" in p. 242. l. 25, (corrected in this edition.)

[m] See the Just Vindication, c. x. p. 276 of this volume.

hall's writings without feeling that he is in earnest. He is indeed so entirely bent upon his purpose, as to be neglectful of every thing subordinate and supplemental to it. His language accordingly is always nervous and intelligible, but at the same time, is not seldom unpolished, and occasionally even inaccurate. It is but fair to Bramhall to prepare his reader for occasional homeliness of language: and though, one whose thoughts are so vigorous, might well be excused, if on ordinary topics his expressions should be sometimes harsh; there are subjects where such an excuse is hardly sufficient. But the fault may be truly said to be, in a degree, *non hominis sed temporum.*

In conclusion, the Editor has to express his regret, that an accumulation of unforeseen and unavoidable occupations has so long delayed the completion of an engagement, undertaken originally upon a very hasty calculation, and with a very insufficient conception, of the difficulties of the task. He is sorry to be compelled to acknowledge, that the delay is far from being compensated by any corresponding improvement in the volume itself.

March, 1842. A. W. H.

A

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VI. From the same to the Lord Primate (Ussher) (Ireland) . . April 26. 1641

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THE LIFE

OF

THE MOST REVEREND FATHER IN GOD

JOHN

LORD ARCHBISHOP OF ARMAGH, AND PRIMATE OF ALL IRELAND.

[TAKEN FROM THE SECOND EDITION OF THE BIOGRAPHIA BRITANNICA.]

PR
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LIFE OF ARCHBISHOP BRAMHALL.

Bramhall (John), Archbishop of Armagh in the seventeenth century, was born at Pontefract in Yorkshire, about the year 1593[a], being descended from "an ancient and genteel family[b][A]." He received his first education in the place of his birth; and when he was qualified for the University, was sent to Sidney College in Cambridge, where he was admitted February the 21st, 1608[c], and put under the care of Mr. Hulet[d][B].

[The principal authorities for Abp. Bramhall's Life are, 1. the Life prefixed to his works by Bp. Vesey (see note b below); 2. the Funeral Sermon by Jer. Taylor, reprinted in the present volume; 3. the short article in Sir James Ware's Comment. de Præsul. Hiberniæ; the additions in Harris's edition of Ware being taken almost entirely from Bp. Vesey. There is also a Funeral Oration in Latin, published at Dublin in 1663 by Dr. Dudley Loftus, and containing a sketch of the Bishop's life, but which the present Editor has been unable to see. Vesey and Taylor have supplied the materials for most of the later memoirs of Bramhall, that for instance in the Biographie Universelle being taken entirely from the former, and those in Barksdale's Remembrancer, Lloyd's Loyal Martyrs, &c. entirely from the latter. The article in the Biographia Britannica, here reprinted, is for the most part an abridgment, and in the very words of the original, of Dr. Vesey's Life, but with the information supplied by Sir James Ware and from other sources—Bp. Taylor excepted, of whose sermon the writer does not seem to have been aware,—interwoven in the proper places. Some further additions have been made in the present reprint, principally from the Rawdon Papers (Letters, &c. to and from Abp Bramhall, preserved in the family of the Marquis of Hastings, whose ancestors were connected with the Archbishop by marriage, and printed in 1819 by the Rev. Edw. Berwick, his Lordship's Chaplain). For the references to Dr. Todd's Life of Milton, to the Life of Dean Barwick, and to Grainger's Biograph. History, the Editor is indebted to the Life of Bramhall in Chalmers.]

[a] [Dr. Bramhall was 'approaching to' 70 years of age in January 166⅔, when he made his will (see it among his Letters, &c. in the present volume, No. XV.); which would agree with the year assigned for his birth in the text: yet on the other hand it would appear to follow from an expression used by Abp. Laud (as quoted by Mant, Ch. of Ireland, ch. iv. § 4. pp. 471, 472) that the date there given was rather too early. For a rule had been laid down by Laud in 1633 (mentioned by him in a letter to Strafford dated Oct. 14. in that year, in the Straff. Papers), that no one should thenceforth be consecrated a Bishop, who should be at the time less than forty years of age; of which rule he apologizes for his own violation in the case of Bramhall (whom he had recommended) May 14, 1634 (Letter to Strafford of that date, in Straff. Papers): whereas Bramhall, if born so early as 1593, would have been of course, in the last named year, not less but more than the required age. See Mant as above quoted.]

[b] [Athanasius Hibernicus, or] The Life of John Lord Archbishop of Ardmagh, prefixed to his Works, edit. 1677, fol., by John [Vesey], Bishop of Lymerick, p. 2. It is not paged.

[c] From Dr. Sherman's Tabulæ Sidnenianæ.

[d] Sir James Ware's Works, edit. 1739, under the Life of our Primate. [This Mr. Hulet is probably the same with the Mr. Howlett mentioned by Abp. Laud in a letter to Bp. Bramhall, dated Aug. 11. 1638 (Rawd. Papers, No. xix), as being then designed to marry a kinswoman of the Archbishop. Mr. Hulet "was then in Ireland, where he was well provided for by his pupil, according to the account given by Dr.

He took the degree of Bachelor of Arts in the year 1612, and that of Master in 1616[e]. After taking the latter, he quitted the University, and entering into Holy Orders, had a living given him in the city of York[f]. He was, likewise, presented to the rectory of Elvington, or Eterington, in Yorkshire, by Mr. Wandesford, afterwards Master of the Rolls, and sometime Lord Deputy of Ireland. About the same time he married a clergyman's widow, of the [Halley[g]] family, an agreeable woman, and of a good fortune, with whom he had a valuable "library, left by her former husband; by which he was so wedded to his studies, that all the temptations of a new-married life could not divorce him from them, or give any intermission to his duty of constant preaching." This he performed with so much assiduity, prudence, and gravity, that "he became as eminent in the Church, as before in the University, and greatly beloved by all degrees of men[h]." In the year 1623, he had two public disputations at North-Allerton, with a secular priest and a Jesuit [C], which gained him great reputation, and so recommended him in particular to the Archbishop of York's[i] esteem, that he made him his chaplain, and took him into his confidence. During the life of the Archbishop, he was made prebendary of York [D], and after of Ripon; at which last place he went and resided after the Archbishop's death (which happened in 1628 [March, 162$\frac{8}{9}$]), "and conducted most of the concernments of that church in the quality of Sub-Dean." Here ['he shewed his exceeding great love to his flock, in staying among them in the time of a most contagious and destructive pestilence; visiting them in their houses, baptizing their children, and doing all other offices of his ministry[k].' Here too] he preached constantly for several years, and became so eminent, not only for his abilities in the pulpit, but also for his knowledge in the laws, that he was frequently chosen arbitrator between contending parties[l]; and by that, and his good behaviour

Lloyd in his book of Worthies" (Rawd. Papers, p. 51. note). See also Jer. Taylor's Fun. Serm.]

[e] From the Grace-book of Sidney-College.

[f] Life, &c. as above.

[g] [That this was the real name of the family into which Dr. Bramhall married, appears from the will of his widow (Rawd. Papers, pp. 12, &c.). It is misspelt by the writer in the Biographia Britannica, who misunderstood Dr. Vesey's expression.]

[h] Life, pp. 2, 3.

[i] Toby Matthews.

[k] [Life, &c. p. 4.]

[l] ['The talents for business, for which Bramhall was conspicuous, seem to

in all other respects, he obtained so much honour and interest, that there was scarcely any public transaction over which he had not a considerable influence; "even in the elections for members of Parliament, such as he named at Ripon, and other corporations, carrying the vote and favour of the people." He was also appointed one of his Majesty's High Commissioners; in which office he was "very curious in the disquisition of all causes," and by some was accounted severe: but, however rough his speech might sometimes be, his dealings were generally smooth and gentle[m]. In the year 1623 he took the degree of Bachelor, and in 1630 that of Doctor, in Divinity[n] [E.] Soon after, he was invited to Ireland by the Lord Viscount Wentworth, Deputy of that kingdom, and Sir Christopher Wandesford, Master of the Rolls: and he accepted of their invitation; though he had a prospect of being promoted in his native country [, "being in as good esteem with Archbishop Neil, then lately, in the beginning of 1632, removed from Winton to York, as he had been with all his predecessors, Matthews, Mountain, and Harsnett"[o]], and was offered ["besides by some noblemen"[p]] to be made one of the King's Chaplains in Ordinary[q]. Having therefore

have been constantly called into requisition by his friends. During his residence in Ireland as Bp. of Derry, not to mention his public employment in every Church commission and visitation, &c., we find him also privately and repeatedly employed by the Lord Deputy Wentworth (Ld. Strafford) in his own family affairs and those of his brother-in-law and sister (Rawd. Papers, Nos. v. vi. vii. x. xi. xvi. xxxiii.): when in exile, again, during the Rebellion, it was to his care that the (then) Marquis of Ormond entrusted the management of his property for the benefit of the Marchioness, then also abroad (Rawd. Papers, No. xxxviii, letter from the Marchioness to Bramhall,—Bramhall's letters in this vol., No. VII.): and, what would be curious enough, if it were not painful to see a Bishop reduced to so low an employment, it was he, during the same period, who was selected by Charles II. (as we shall see below), while the Dutch and English were at war in 1653, to act as his prize-master at Flushing.]

[m] Life, &c. pp. 4, 5.

[n] From the Grace-book of Sidney College, as above.

[o] [Life, &c. p. 7.]

[p] [Life, &c. ibid.]

[q] [The account given by Bp. Vesey (Life, &c. pp. 6, 7.) of the motives of Dr. Bramhall in accepting Lord Wentworth's invitation, is so creditable to him, that it would be injustice to his memory to omit it. The prospects of preferment above-mentioned are there spoken of as pressed upon Bramhall by his friends, while he himself, acknowledging "the great force of what they said," declared, that "they might thence see that he 'consulted not with flesh and blood;' and solemnly protested in the presence of God, that nothing but an unmingled zeal to serve God and the King in recovering the rights of an oppressed Church, which he understood the Lord Deputy had laid to heart, could bias him against the inclinations he had to gratify so many dear and noble friends; upon which declaration they all desisted from any further attempt, as giving him up to the Will of God, which they discerned overruled him in this matter."]

resigned all his Church preferments in England[r], he went over into Ireland in the year 1633[s]; and, a little while after, obtained the Archdeaconry of Meath, the best in that kingdom. "The first public service he was employed in, was a regal visitation, in which he was either one of the King's Commissioners with Baron Hilton, Judge of the Prerogative, or such a co-adjutor that all was governed by his directions." In this visitation [, of which he gives an account to Archbishop Laud in a letter dated[t] Dublin, August 10th, 1633,] he found 'the revenues of the Church miserably wasted, the discipline scandalously despised, and the ministers but meanly provided.' The Bishoprics, in particular, "were wretchedly dilapidated by fee-farms, and long leases at small rents" [F]. But he applied, in process of time, proper remedies to these several evils. He likewise endeavoured to destroy "some opinions of general credit, that he judged very prejudicial to a good life [G], which yet were reverenced almost like articles of Faith[u]." In the year 1634, he was promoted to the Bishopric of Londonderry, and consecrated the sixteenth [it should be *twenty-sixth*] of May, in the chapel of the Castle of Dublin[v]. While he enjoyed this See, he very much improved it, not only in advancing the rents, but also in recovering lands[x] detained from his predecessors; by which means he doubled the yearly profits of that Bishopric[y]. But the greatest service

[r] [This is not strictly correct. The letter of Laud dated May 14, 1634, which was quoted in note a, speaks of English preferment still at that time retained by Bramhall; and which, upon his promotion to the See of Derry, Laud considered him bound to surrender: and it appears from Browne Willis (Survey of the Cathedr. of York, &c. p. 145.), that the preferment alluded to was his prebendal stall at York, which he did not vacate until Aug. 6. 1634.]

[s] [He "was admitted Treasurer of Christ Church Dublin, Sept. 3, 1633, by virtue of the King's patent dated the 30th of the preceding month" (Harris in his edit. of Ware, Art. on Bramh. among the Bps. of Derry).]

[t] [Letters, No. I. A similar account in 1637, upon Bramhall's visit to London, is mentioned by Dr. Vesey. See also the two letters of Laud to Bramhall in 1638; Rawdon Papers, Nos. xviii. xix.]

[u] Life, &c. pp. 7, 8, 9.

[v] Sir James Ware, ubi supra. [According to Harris (as quoted above, note s), Bramhall held the prebend of Dunlavan in the Cathedral of St. Patrick's, Dublin, in commendam while Bp. of Derry; but this appears from the visitation books of that Cathedral to be an error, Colborne, Bp. of Kildare (E'pus *Dar.*, not E'pus *Der.*) having held that prebend from 1618 until after 1648 (Mason's St. Patrick's, Notes, p. lxxxi.).]

[x] As Termin [see Letters, No. II.], Colahy, &c. [and Desart Martin, 'which he retrieved to its proper use as mensal lands, and made a park there for the Bishops of the diocese.' Life, &c. p. 11.]

[y] Life, &c. as above, pp. 10, 11.

he did the Church of Ireland, was, by getting, with the Lord Deputy's assistance, several Acts passed, in the Parliament which met in that kingdom, July 14, 1634 [H]. In pursuance of these Acts, he abolished the fee-farms that were charged on church lands, and obtained compositions for the rent, instead of the small reserved rents. He, likewise, was very instrumental in getting such impropriations as remained in the Crown, vested by King Charles I. on the several incumbents, after the expiration of the leases. Some he recovered by law, and persuaded many persons possessed of tithes to restore them, or sufficiently to endow the vicarages, or to grant a proper salary at least to the curates. Moreover, he himself purchased abundance of impropriations, either with his own money, or by large remittances from England[z]; by money given by his Majesty to pious uses; by borrowing large sums, and securing them out of the issues of the impropriations he bought; by voluntary contributions; and by a share of the goods of persons dying intestate. "By these, and other means, he regained to the Church, in the space of four years, thirty or forty thousand pounds a-year[a]." In the Convocation that met at the same time, he prevailed upon the Church of Ireland to be united in the same Faith with the Church of England [I], by embracing the XXXIX Articles of Religion agreed upon in the Convocation holden at London in the year 1562. He would fain also have got the English Canons established in Ireland: but, notwithstanding his utmost endeavours, he could obtain no more [through a jealous carefulness on the part of many among his fellow Bishops, and especially of the Primate, Usher, for the liberties of the Church of Ireland[b],] than that such of our canons "as were fit to be transplanted among the Irish should be removed thither, and others new framed, and added to them." Accordingly, a book of canons was compiled, chiefly by our Bishop, and having passed in Convocation, received the royal confirmation[c]. For all these services, he met, from several quarters, with a great deal of detraction and envy; and, according to

[z] ['Abp. Laud designed £40,000 for this purpose out of his own purse.' Life, &c. as above, p. 15.]

[a] Ibid. pp. 14, 15, 16. [£30,000 is the sum mentioned by Jer. Taylor in his Funeral Sermon.]

[b] [Life, &c. as above, p. 19.]

[c] [See a full account of this second part of the Bishop's labours in Mant's Ch. of Ireland, ch. vii. § 5. pp. 495, &c.]

the fashion of those times, was charged with Arminianism and Popery: but "he was not of a spirit to be terrified from what he thought his duty with noise and ill words[d]." "Having thus, for a considerable time, laboured for the good of others, he thought it time to make some provision for his own family. In order to it, he took a journey to England in 1637," and was received with much respect by persons of the highest quality, particularly in his native county [, and by his former flocks at Ripon and at York]. But when he came to London, he was surprised with the news of an information exhibited against him in the Star Chamber [K], of which however he soon cleared himself. After having received much honour from King Charles I. and many civilities from Archbishop Laud, and other great persons, he returned to Ireland[e]; and "with six thousand pounds[f], for which he sold his estate in England (but brought over at several times), he purchased another of good value, and began a plantation at Omagh, in the county of Tyrone." But the distractions in that kingdom hindered him from bringing it to perfection[g]; for he was not without his share in the troubles that brought Ireland to the brink of destruction. On the fourth of March 1640–41, articles of high treason against him, and several of the Prime Ministers of State[h], were exhibited by the House of Commons to the House of Lords in Ireland; wherein they were charged with having "conspired together to subvert the fundamental laws and government of that kingdom," and to "introduce an arbitrary and tyrannical government;" to have 'pronounced many false, unjust, and erroneous judgments, against law, which had occasioned divers seditions and rebellions;' and to have "laboured to subvert the rights of Parliament, and the

[d] Life, &c. as above, pp. 17, 18, 19, 20. "*Never fear when the cause is just*, was one of his usual sayings." Ibid. p. 20.

[e] [In February, 163$\frac{7}{8}$. See the letter of Abp. Laud to Bramhall, February 17. 163$\frac{7}{8}$. (Rawd. Papers, No. xviii). He was in London in November, 1637, having left Ireland in the latter part of the previous September (from letters in Rawd. Papers, pp. 41, 42).]

[f] [Exaggerated into 30,000 by Pym in opening the charges against the Earl of Strafford. Nalson, vol. ii. p. 13.]

[g] Life, &c. as above, pp. 21, 22.

[h] Viz. Sir Rich. Bolton, Knt., Lord Chancellor of Ireland; Sir Gerard Lowther, Knt., Chief Justice of the Common Pleas; and Sir George Radcliffe, Knt. [This impeachment was laid in Ireland at the same time that the Earl of Strafford was impeached in England; in order, probably, as indeed was said (Nalson, vol. ii. p. 8.) in the case of Sir G. Radcliffe, that the Earl might be deprived of the assistance of his friends and confidents.]

ancient course of Parliamentary proceedings[i]." The Bishop was then at Londonderry, when he received intelligence of this accusation, on the sixth of March. "All his friends wrote to him to decline the trial, but he thought it dishonourable to fly." On the contrary, he repaired to Dublin, and 'shewed himself the next day in the Parliament house, where his enemies stood staring upon him for awhile, and then made him a close prisoner[k]. But though all persons were encouraged to contribute to his ruin[l], they found little to object, but his endeavours to retrieve the ancient patrimony of the Church. Notwithstanding they examined all his actions with severity, they could not fix the least tincture of private advantage on him; none of his relations, family, or friends, being one farthing the richer for any thing he had recovered to the Church.' Not being able, therefore, to make any thing good on that head, they accused him of having attempted "to subvert the fundamental laws." In this distress he wrote to the Primate Usher, then in England, for his advice and comfort [L]; who mediated so effectually in his behalf with the King, that his Majesty sent a letter over to Ireland to stop proceedings against Bishop Bramhall: but this letter was very slowly obeyed. However, the Bishop was 'at length restored to liberty, but without any public acquittal, the charge lying still dormant against him, to be awakened when his enemies pleased[m].' Shortly after his return to Londonderry, Sir Phelim O'Neil contrived his ruin in the following manner: "he directed a letter to him, wherein he desired, 'that, according to their articles, such a gate of the city should be delivered to him,' expecting that the Scots in the place would, upon the discovery, become his executioners." But the person who was to manage the matter, ran away with the letter. "Though this design took no place, the Bishop found no safety there. The city daily filling with discontented persons, out of Scotland, he began to grow afraid they would deliver him up. One night they turned a cannon against his house to affront him; upon which, being persuaded by his friends to look on that as a warning, he took

[i] See the Articles at length, printed in 1641, 4to. [and in Rushworth and Nalson.]

[k] [See Letters, No. V.]

[l] ['There were above 200 petitions put in against him.' Bp. Taylor, Fun. Serm.]

[m] Life, &c. as above, pp. 24, 25, 26.

their advice, and privately embarked for England." He went into Yorkshire[n], "where, by his example, his frequent exhortations from the pulpit, his incessant labours with the gentry, and his prudent advices to the Marquis of Newcastle, he put great life into the King's affairs." Moreover, he sent[o] a considerable present of plate to his Majesty at Nottingham, and composed some things in favour of the Royal cause, of which we shall give an account below[p]. "Thus he continued active all the time of his being in England;" that is, till the unfortunate battle of Marston Moor [July 2, 1644]: but, after that, the King's affairs being entirely grown desperate, the Bishop embarked with [the Marquis of Newcastle and] several [other] persons of distinction, and landed at Hamburgh, July 8, 1644[q][M]. Thence he went to Brussels, "where he continued for the most part till the year 1648, with Sir Henry de Vic, the King's Resident, preaching constantly every Sunday, and frequently administering the Sacrament [and confirming such as desired it]. The English merchants of Antwerp, ten leagues thence, used to be monthly of his audience and communion, and were his best benefactors." In the year 1648, he returned into Ireland; and after having undergone several dangers and difficulties [N], narrowly escaped thence in a little bark[r] [O]. On his arrival in foreign parts, Providence supplied him with a considerable sum of money, of which he greatly stood in need[s]; for having had seven hundred pounds long due to him, for salmon caught in the river Bann[t] and sent abroad, which debt he looked upon as lost, he was now so fortunate as to recover

[n] [He preached at York, Jan. 28, 164$\frac{3}{4}$. before the M. of Newcastle. See his Sermon, Works, Part iv. Discourse ii.]

[o] [He refused at the same time a sum of £500 offered him by the M. of Newcastle out of the public stock. Life, &c. p. 27.]

[p] Ibid. pp. 26, 27. See below, note [U]. It was then he wrote "Serpent Salve." [But the writer in the Biogr. Britann. is wrong in saying that he wrote "Fair Warning" at this time. It was not written until 1649.]

[q] Historical Recollections, &c. by I. Rushworth, vol. v. edit. 1721, p. 637. [Bramhall was at Brussels, June 20, 1645 (Works, p. 984. fol. edit.); and at Paris in the autumn of that year (where he met with Hobbes; see below note U).]

[r] [He was at Rotterdam again Oct. 1, 1648. (Note of the M. of Newcastle to him of that date, in Rawd. Papers, p. 93.).]

[s] Life, &c. pp. 27, 28.

[t] Where there is a fine Salmon fishery belonging to the Bishop of Londonderry [See Letters, Nos. II. and IX.]. The Bishop had also some relief from the Lord Scudamore; see View of the Churches of Door, &c. Lond. 1727, 4to. by Mr. Gibson, p. 110.

it; which proved a seasonable relief both to him and to many royalists that partook of his generosity[u]. During this second time of his being abroad, 'he had many disputes about religion with the learned of all nations, sometimes occasionally, and at other times by appointment and formal challenge;' and wrote several things in defence of the Church of England[x]. He, likewise, purposed to draw a parallel between the liturgy of the Church of England, and the public forms of the Protestant Churches; and "for that end designed a journey into Spain;" "but he met with an unexpected diversion in his first day's journey into that kingdom"[y] [P]. At the same time, there was a great friendship and correspondence between him and the Marquis of Montrose[z], whose cause he often recommended to the favour and justice of foreign princes. Upon the restoration of the Church and monarchy, Bishop Bramhall returned to England[a]; and was, from the first, designed for some higher promotion.

[u] [Dr. Bramhall was reduced for a short time, as has been hinted already, to act as prize-master, and even to sell the prizes in person, for Charles II., during the war between the English Commonwealth and the Dutch; for which purpose he resided at Flushing in the latter part of 1653 (Letters of intelligence from Holland, in Sept., Oct., and Nov., 1653, in Thurloe's State Papers, vol. i. pp. 464, 514, 585, 586). He complains himself of the hardships and indignities to which he and his brother exiles were exposed, in his "Just Vindication, &c." ch. x. (Works, p. 136. fol. edit.), published in 1654. It appears (from his Letters; see also Thurloe's State Papers, vol. ii. p. 601. vol. v. p. 645) that he resided principally, during this second banishment, in Holland, but in a very unsettled condition; now at the Hague, now at Antwerp, now at Aken (Aix la Chapelle), and again at Bruges, at Utrecht, (Rawd. Papers, p. 103) or at Brussels (Life of Dean Barwick, p. 424. Eng. edit.), as circumstances compelled. He was at Paris Dec. 30, 1651 (Contempor. Journ. quoted by Bray, Mem. of Evelyn, vol. v. p. 275. 8vo. edit.), at the court of Charles II. (then still acknowledged by the French government), at which time and place he probably wrote his Answer to La Milletière (see below, note U).]

[x] [The whole of his discourses against the Roman Catholics and against Hobbes, together with the two against Baxter and upon the Sabbath Day, were written within this period, i. e. between 1649 and 1660.] See below, note [U]; and Life, pp. 29, &c. [and Bramhall's own account of his labours for the English Church at this time in his "Vindication of Episcop. Clergy," c. v., Works, p. 524. fol. edit.]

[y] Life, &c. p. 33. and ["Serpent Salve," c. xii.] Works, p. 511. [fol. edit. See also Letters, No. VIII., and the additional remarks at the end of note U.]

[z] Life, &c. p. 29. [The Bishop's eldest daughter (as will be seen below, p. xiii.) was married subsequently to Sir James Graham, whose father the Earl of Monteith was nearly related to the great Marquis.]

[a] In October, 1660 (Public Intelligence, 4to.). [Bramhall was in London more than two months before the time here assigned, and in all probability came over from Holland immediately upon the Restoration. He writes to his wife from London, July 7, 1660, having then already passed more than a fortnight there (Letters, No. XII.); and Evelyn speaks of "saluting his old friend, the Abp. of Armagh, formerly of Londonderry," in London, July 28, of the same year (Diary under that date).]

Most people imagined it would be the Archbishopric of York; but at last he was appointed Archbishop of Armagh, Primate and Metropolitan of all Ireland[b] [Q], to which he was translated the 18th of January 1660-61[c]. Not long after, 'he consecrated, in one day, Dr. Margetson, Archbishop of Dublin; Dr. Pullen, of Tuam;' and the following "ten Bishops; Dr. Boyle, Bishop of Cork; Dr. Parker, of Elfin; Dr. Jeremy Taylor, of Down; Syng, of Lymerick; Price, of Leighlin; Baker, of Waterford; Wild, of Derry; Lessly, of Dromore; Worth, of Killalow; and Hall, of Killala." The ceremony "was performed in the cathedral church of St. Patrick, Dublin, [the sermon being preached by the Bishop of Down, and] the Lords Justices and Council attending[d]." In this same year he visited his diocese, where he found great disorder; some having committed horrible outrages, and many imbibed very strong prejudices, "both against his person, and the doctrine and discipline of the Church: but by lenity and reproof, by argument and persuasion, by long-suffering [and doctrine], he gained upon them even beyond his own expectation. He used to say, men must have some time to return to their wits, that had been so long out of them:" therefore, 'by his prudence and moderation he greatly softened the spirit of opposition, and effectually obtained the point he aimed at[e]' [R]. 'As he was, by his place, President of the Convocation which met the 8th of May 1661, so he was also, for his merit, chosen Speaker of the House of Lords,' in the Parliament which met at the same time[f] [S]. And so great a value had both Houses for him, that 'they appointed committees to examine what was upon record in their books concerning him and the Earl of Strafford, and ordered the charges against them to be torn out, which was accordingly done[g].' In this Parliament "many advantages

[b] Life, &c. p. 34.

[c] Sir James Ware's Works, as above.

[d] Ware's Works, in the Lives of those respective Prelates; and Life, as above, p. 35. [and Jer. Taylor's Consecration Sermon, Works, vol. vi. pp. 301, &c. See also the circumstantial account of the ceremony in Mason's St. Patrick's (pp. 192—194).]

[e] Life, &c. as above, pp. 35, 36.

[f] [See the Letter of Lord Orrery quoted by Mant (Ch. of Ireland, ch. ix. § 2. p. 631) from Orrery's State Papers (vol. i. p. 34); and another Letter of Lord Orrery to Bramhall himself in the Rawd. Papers (No. lviii.).]

[g] ['The Convocation also acknowledged his services in an instrument, designed to be made public, but unhappily mislaid or lost.' Life, &c. p. 37. See also Jer. Taylor's Funeral Sermon.]

were procured, and more designed, for the Church, in which Archbishop Bramhall was very industrious. Several of the Bishops obtained their augmentations through his intercession; as likewise the inferior clergy the forfeited impropriate tithes; and the whole Church all the advantageous clauses in the acts of settlement and explanation" [, 'although she did not reap the benefit of them to the full extent that was intended[h].' "There were two bills, for the passing of which he took great pains, but was defeated in both:" one was, "for making the tithing-table of Ulster the rule for the whole kingdom:" the other, "for enabling the Bishops to make leases for sixty years[i]." About this time he had a violent sickness, being the second fit of a palsy[k], which was very near putting an end to his life; but he recovered. 'Before his death, he was intent upon a royal visitation, in order to the correction of some disorders he had observed, and the better settlement of ministers upon their cures," by a more convenient distribution or union of parishes, and the building of churches[l]: but he could not put this, and some other designs he had formed, in execution. A little before his death he visited his diocese, and having provided for the repair of his cathedral, and other affairs suitable to his pastoral office, he returned to Dublin about the middle of May 1663. The latter end of the month following, he was seized with the third fit of the palsy [T], which quickly put an end to his life[m]. By his wife mentioned above, he had four children, a son and three daughters. The son, Sir Thomas Bramhall, Bart. married the daughter of Sir Paul Davys, Knt. Clerk of the Council, and died without issue. Of the daughters; the eldest [Isabella] was married [not long before her father's death] to Sir James Graham, son to the Earl of Monteith; the second [Jane] to Alderman [Toxteath] of Drogheda, and the third [Anne] to Standish [Hartstong], Esq.,

[h] [Harris in his edition of Ware, from Vesey's Life.]

[i] Life, &c. as above, pp. 37, 38. [See the letter and petition upon the subject, Letters, No. XIII.]

[k] [Apparently in January $166\frac{2}{3}$, at which time he made his will (Jer. Taylor's Fun. Serm., and the will itself among Bramhall's Letters, &c. No. XV). He is spoken of as "old and infirm," and "unable to last long," in a letter of Dean Barwick to Ld. Clarendon, 14th September, 1659. Life of Barwick, p. 439. Eng. Edit.]

[l] Life, &c. p. 39.

[m] [June 25, in the 70th year of his age (Ware, as before quoted).]

[subsequently to the Archbishop's decease[n]]. Among other benefactions, the Archbishop left a legacy of five hundred pounds for the repair of the Cathedral of Armagh, and St. Peter's at Drogheda[o]. We shall give an account of his works in the note [U]. With regard to his person and character; he was "of a middle stature and active, but his mien and presence not altogether so great as his endowments of mind. His complexion was highly sanguine, pretty deeply tinctured with choler, which in his declining years became predominant, and would sometimes overflow, not without some tartness of expression, but it proceeded no farther[p]." As "he was a great lover of plain-dealing and plain-speaking[q]," "so his conversation was free and familiar, patient of any thing in discourse but obstinacy; his speech ready and intelligible, smooth and strong, free from affectation of phrase or fancy, saying, it was a boyish sport to hunt for words, and argued a penury of matter, which would always find expression for itself. His understanding was very good, and greatly improved by labour and study." "As a scholar, his excellency lay in the rational and argumentative part of learning." He was, also, well acquainted "with ecclesiastical and other histories; and in the pulpit an excellent persuasive orator." He was a firm friend to the Church of England[r], "bold in the defence of it, and patient in suffering for it; yet he was very far from any thing like bigotry. He had a great allowance and charity for men of different persuasions, looking upon those Churches as in a tottering condition that stood upon nice opinions." Accordingly, he made a "distinction between articles necessary for peace and order, and those that

[n] Life, &c. p. 39. [and the Abp.'s will, as before referred to. The names of the husbands of the Abp.'s younger daughters are spelt inaccurately by the writer in the Biogr. Britann. They are here corrected from Dr. Vesey's Life. Mr. Hartstong "was one of the Barons of the Exchequer;" and the Sir James Graham, who married the eldest daughter, was "the third and youngest son of William, Earl of Monteith and Airth," and by his daughter Helen, the only issue of his marriage with Miss Bramhall, became the maternal ancestor of the Earls of Moira and the Marquisses of Hastings, Sir Arthur Rawdon, the grand-father of the first Earl of Moira (and the nephew and only representative of the last Earl of Conway), having married Miss Helen Graham (Preface to Rawdon Papers.—Collins' Peerage by Sir Egert. Brydges, vol. vi. p. 684, and note).]

[o] Life, &c. pp. 39, 42, 43. [See also the Abp.'s will, as above referred to.]

[p] Life, &c. as above, p. 43.

[q] Ibid. p. 21.

[r] ["Tenacious of the Catholic Tradition," are Bp. Vesey's words.]

are necessary to salvation;" and he "often declared, That the Church was not to be healed but by general propositions[s]."

[s] Life, &c. p. 43. [Compare his Works, p. 937, fol. edit.] Discourse on Sabbath and Lord's Day,

APPENDIX.

[A] *Being descended from an ancient and genteel family.*] Namely, "from the Bramhalls, of Bramhall-Hall in Cheshire[a], related by intermarriage to the Keresfords, of Keresford in Yorkshire, a house that has flourished in a direct line from the time of King Henry II[b]."

[B] *And put under the care of Mr. Hulet.*] The Right Reverend author of his life, Bishop Vesey, informs us, That "he became there master of the arts and sciences before he had the degree; all his acts and exercises being still performed with that easiness and smoothness which argues clean strength and sufficiency[c]."

[C] *He had two public disputations at North-Allerton, with a secular Priest and a Jesuit.*] These two Papists[d] had sent a public defiance to all the Protestant clergy in that country (at a time when the match between Prince Charles and the Infanta of Spain was in agitation, and they expected from thence great advantages and countenance to their own religion), and when none durst accept the challenge, our author undertook the combat. "Though he was then but about thirty years of age, and a stripling in the school of controversy," yet he managed the dispute so well, "that his antagonists, and their whole party, had reason to repent of the insolence of their adventure. One of the subjects of the disputation was the article of Transubstantiation, from whence they easily sliding into that other of the Half-Communion, he shamefully baffled their doctrine of concomitancy, and drove the disputant up to so narrow a corner, that he affirmed that eating was drinking and drinking was eating in a material or bodily sense. Mr. Bramhall looked on this as so elegant a solecism, that he needed no greater trophy, if he could get under his hand, what he had declared with his tongue; which being desired, was by the other, in his heat, and shame to seem to retreat, as readily granted. But upon cooler thoughts, finding perhaps, after the heat of the contest was over, that he could not quench his thirst with a piece of bread, he re-

[a] [A brother of the Bishop is mentioned incidentally by Laud in a letter to Dr. Bramhall (dated in February 1637, Rawd. Papers, p. 53), in connection with the gentry of Cheshire.]

[b] Life, &c. as above, p. 2.

[c] Life, &c. as above, p. 2.

[d] Hungate, a Jesuit, and Houghton, a secular Priest. See Archbishop Bramhall's Works, p. 624 [fol. edit.].

flected so sadly on the dishonour he had suffered, that, not being able to digest it, in ten days he died." Archbishop Matthews, hearing of this disputation, "sent for Mr. Bramhall, and at first rebuked him for his hardiness in undertaking a disputation so publicly without allowance; but soon forgave him[e]."

[D] *During the life of the Archbishop he was made Prebendary of York.*] So we are assured by the Right Reverend author of his Life[f]. But according to Browne Willis, Esq.[g], he was not made prebendary of York till the 13th of June, 1633, five years after the death of Archbishop Matthews; so that one of these two authors must be mistaken. The prebend he had, was that of Hustwaith, in the Church of York.

[E] *He took the degree of Doctor in Divinity.*] The thesis he disputed upon, on that occasion, was this: *Pontifex Romanus est causa, vel procreans vel conservans, omnium vel saltem præcipuarum controversiarum in orbe Christiano*, i. e. 'The Pope is the author, or maintainer, of all, or at least of the chief, controversies in the Christian world.' And in all his exercises, then, "he made it appear that he had not lost his time in the country, nor evaporated all in pulpit discourses, but that he had furnished himself with very substantial learning[h]." [His own account is more accurate. It is as follows:—"When I disputed in Cambridge for the degree of Doctor, my thesis was taken out of Nilus[i], that the Papacy (as it was challenged and usurped in many places, and as it had been sometime usurped in our native country) was either the procreant or conservant cause, or both the procreant and conservant cause, &c.[k]" He had preached upon a similar subject, viz. "the Pope's unlawful usurpation of jurisdiction over the Britannic Churches," at an earlier period, before a Synod of the Province of York, apparently that of 1620[l]. It is curious to observe how early and how continually his attention was turned to the subject of his subsequent treatises against the Romanists.]

[F] *The Bishoprics were dilapidated by fee-farms, and long leases*

[e] Life, &c. as above, p. 3. [See also the "Vindic. of Episcop. Clergy," c. v. Works, p. 624. fol. edit.]

[f] Life, &c. as above, p. 4.

[g] Survey of the Cathedrals of York, &c. edit. 1727, 4to. vol. i. p. 145.

[h] Life, &c. as above, p. 5.

[i] [Bramhall must mean that he took the hint of this subject from Nilus (Abp. of Thessalonica, De Primatu Papæ), as neither the words nor the *exact* sentiment occur in that author.]

[k] ["Vindication of the Episcopal Clergy, &c." c. v. Works, p. 623. fol. edit.]

[l] ["Vindication, &c., as quoted in last note. Bramhall, it will be remembered, did not take Orders until after 1616, and the sermon here alluded to was preached before 1623, the date of his disputation at North-Allerton; consequently in the year above given, there having been no other northern Synod within the interval.]

at small rents.] These had been "granted, partly by the Popish Bishops, who resolved to carry as much with them as they could," and "partly by their Protestant successors, who might fear another turn, and were, having their example, disposed enough to make use of the same arts. By such means on the one side and the other, many Bishoprics were made" extremely small: some reduced to one hundred pounds *per annum;* some to fifty, as Waterford, Kilfenoragh, &c.; some to five marks, as Kilmacduagh, and particularly Cloyne, the Bishop whereof was called *Episcopus quinque marcarum*, the five-marks-Bishop. Aghadoe was only one pound one shilling and eight pence; and Ardfert but sixty pounds. Lymerick had above five parts in six made away by fee-farms, or encroached on by undertakers. The like was done in Cashel, Emly, Waterford, Lismore, and Killaloe. In some dioceses, as in Ferns and Leighlin, there was scarcely a living left that was not farmed out to the patron, or to some for his use, at two, three, four, or five pounds *per annum*, for a long time, three lives, or a hundred years[m].

[G] *He likewise endeavoured to destroy some opinions of general credit, that he judged very prejudicial to a good life.*] "He was very desirous to abate of their value, and to reduce them to what they ought only to pass for, school opinions, that so men might have the liberty of their private reasons [*salvâ Fide* and *salvâ caritate*]. He could not endure to see some men enslave their judgment to a person or a party, that cry up nothing more than Christian liberty. He thought that liberty was much confined by being chained to any man's chair, as if all he uttered were" oracles, "and to be made the standard and test of orthodoxy: that the Christian faith and liberty are then most in danger, when so many things are crowded into confessions, that what should be practical, becomes purely a science, of a rule of life an useless speculation, of a thing easy to be understood, a thing hard to be remembered: that it was the interest of the Protestant Church to widen her bottom, and make her Articles as charitable and comprehensive as she could, that those nicer accuracies, that divide the greatest wits in the world, might not be made the characteristics of reformation, and give occasion to one party to excommunicate and censure another. Thus he saw the Church of England constituted; both Calvinists and Arminians .... subscribing the same propositions, and 'walking to the house of God as friends[n].'"

[m] Life, &c. as above, pp. 7, 8. 25. [and Letters, Nos. I. and VI.]

[n] Life, &c. as above, p. 9. [The words between brackets are Dr. Vesey's.]

[H] *Several acts passed in the Parliament, which met in that kingdom, July the 14th, 1634.*] The first was, "A statute for the maintenance and execution of pious uses," obliging all 'Archbishops and Bishops to perform every such trust according to the true intent of the deeds in that behalf made, or to be made[o].' The next was, "A statute for confirmation of leases made by the Lord Primate, and other Bishops in Ulster," of such endowments as had been made by King James to the Archbishopric of Armagh, the Bishoprics of Derry, Clogher, Raphoe and Killmore, giving them power, any time within five years, to make leases for sixty years of such lands[p]. By this statute, the Church was enabled, on the surrender of titles to fee-farms, and some improvement of rent, to make leases, as above, for sixty years; "by which means she was in many places bettered at present, and had a hopeful prospect of recovering her full right at last." But the best defence of the Irish Church, was the statute entitled, "An Act for the preservation of the inheritance, rights, and profits, of lands belonging to the Church and persons ecclesiastical[q]." "This limited them to time and rent, prescribed what they might set, and for what, and how long, and is the security of succession."—Care also was taken of the inferior clergy, in another Act, which enableth "restitution of impropriations and tithes, and other rights ecclesiastical, to the clergy, with a restraint of alienating the same, and direction for the presentations to churches[r]."

[I] *In the Convocation that met at the same time, he prevailed upon the Church of Ireland to be united in the same Faith with the Church of England.*] The Faith of both was the same in the main, only with this difference, that the Irish Articles were more rigid and Calvinistical. Of this no better reason can be given, than that the first reformers in Ireland, on account of the great number of Papists in that kingdom, endeavoured to guard against them as much as possible. "Therefore, like burnt children, which so much dread the fire that they think they can never be far enough from their fear, they became very dogmatical in some propositions (most opposite, as they conceived, to the Church of Rome), left undetermined by the Church of England." Now Bishop Bramhall "laboured, in the Convocation, to have the correspondence more entire and accu-

[o] Sir Richard Bolton's Statutes of Ireland, Sess. 3. c. 1. fol. 50.

[q] Ibid. c. 5. fol. 56.

[p] Sess. 4. c. 3. fol. 78.

[r] Ibid. c. 2. fol. 75. In pursuance, and by the benefit, of these Acts, the rents of the See of Ardmagh in particular were improved £735 4s. 4d. yearly, more than usual. [Letter of Abp. Usher to Bramhall, dated February 25. 1635, in Bramhall's] Life, &c. as above, p. 13.

rate; and discoursed, with great moderation and sobriety, of the convenience of having the articles of peace and communion in every national Church worded in that latitude, that dissenting persons, in those things that concerned not the Christian Faith, might subscribe, and the Church not lose the benefit of their labours for an opinion which it may be they could not help; that it were to be wished such articles might be contrived for the whole Christian world, but especially that the Protestant Churches under the King's dominion might 'all speak the same language;' and, particularly, that those of England and Ireland, being reformed by the same principle and rule of Scripture [expounded by universal tradition, Councils, Fathers, and other ways of conveyance[s]], might confess their Faith in the same form." Persuaded by these arguments, the Convocation drew up a canon which is as follows: "For the manifestation of our agreement with the Church of England in the confession of the same Christian Faith, and the doctrine of the Sacraments, we do receive and approve the book of Articles of religion agreed upon by the Archbishops and Bishops and the whole clergy in the Convocation holden at London in the year 1562, &c. And, therefore, if any hereafter shall affirm, that any of those articles are in any part superstitious or erroneous, or such as he may not with a good conscience subscribe unto, let him be excommunicated, and not absolved before he make public revocation of his error[t]."

[K] *An information exhibited against him in the Star Chamber.*] "The charge was, 'That he was present at Ripon when one Mr. Palmer had made some reflecting discourse upon his Majesty, and that his Lordship had taken no notice of it, either to reprove him or inform against him.' The words . . . . deserved no very capital punishment, if they had been true, being no more than, 'That he feared a Scottish mist was come over their town;' because the King had altered his lodgings from Ripon, where he had designed them, to one Sir Richard Graham's house, not far from that place: but the Bishop . . . . easily cleared the whole company[u]." [It seems that this was not the only charge made upon this occasion against Dr. Bramhall. Another, equally groundless and equally unsuccessful, 'of having uttered some *yeomanly* language upon the serving and executing a commission out of the Court of the Star

[s] [The words between brackets are Dr. Vesey's, the sentence *now* standing as he wrote it.]

[t] Life, &c. pp. 17, 18. ['from the information of Thos. Price, then Archdeacon of Kilmore, and consequently a member of the lower house of Convocation; afterwards Archbishop of Cashel.' —See also the Constitutions and Canons of the Synod at Dublin, A. D. 1634, Can. 1, in Wilkins, Concil., tom. iv. p. 498. and the additional remarks at the end of note U.]

[u] Life, &c. p. 22.

Chamber,' was brought against him by one Mr. Bacon at the same time[v].]

[L] *In this distress he wrote to the Primate Usher, then in England, for his advice and comfort.*] This letter[x] is dated April 26, 1641. Archbishop Usher, in his answer, has these words: "I assure you my care never slackened in solliciting your cause at Court, with as great vigilancy as if it did touch mine own proper person. I never intermitted any occasion of mediating with his Majestie in your behalf, who still pittyed your case, acknowledged the faithfulness of your services both to the Church and to him, avowed that you were no more guilty of treason than himself, and assured me that he would do for you all that lay in his power, &c." [Abp. Usher continues,—"My Lord Strafford the night before his suffering (which was most Christian and magnanimous *ad stuporem usque*), sent me to the King, giving me in charge among other particulars to put him in mind of you, and of the other two Lords that are under the same pressure, &c.[y]." It deserves to be mentioned to the credit both of Bp. Bramhall and of Abp. Usher, that, although the former was a man of active zeal and hasty temper, and devoted heart and soul to the restoration of the Irish Church in a way, which Abp. Usher opposed, and upon principles, with which he did not sympathise,—in times too of strong excitement and violent party-feeling,—yet there ever existed between them a most friendly and even affectionate intercourse: as the above letters among others[z] testify, and as Bramhall (after Usher's death) expressly declares[a].]

[M] *And landed at Hamburgh, July* 8, 1644.] Shortly after, at the treaty of Uxbridge, the Parliaments of England and Scotland made this one of their preliminary demands, that Bishop Bramhall (together with Archbishop Laud, &c.) should be excepted out of the general pardon[b]. This was accordingly done, in an ordinance of indemnity passed by the Rump-Parliament in 1652. [He had been included likewise in the "First Qualification" of those, against whom the Parliament demanded liberty to take proceedings, in the

[v] [Commendatory Letter from the Ld. Deputy Wentworth to the Ld. Keeper Coventry in behalf of Dr. Bramhall, then going to London, September 11, 1637. Rawdon Papers, No. xv.]

[x] [Letters, No. VI.]

[y] Life, as above, p. 25. [See the letter entire in the Rawdon Papers, No. xxxiv.]

[z] [See also Letters, No. X., and Usher's letters in the Rawd. Papers, Nos. xxiii, and xxxiii, especially the former.]

[a] ["I praise God that we" (the Lord Primate and his Suffragans) "were like the Candles in the Levitical Temple, looking one towards another, and all towards the stem. We had no contention among us, but who should hate contention most, and pursue the peace of the Church with swiftest paces." (Discourse on the Sabbath, &c. in Bramhall's Works, p. 934. fol. edit.).]

[b] Dugdale's View, &c. p. 741.

Articles of Peace proposed to King Charles I. (then at Newcastle in the hands of the Scots) in 1646[c].]

[N] *And after having undergone several dangers and difficulties.*] All the while he was there, "he had his life continually in his hand; being in perils by Irish, in perils by his own countrymen, and in perils by false brethren. At Lymerick, the Earl of Roscommon had such a fall coming down a pair of stairs, that he lived only so long to declare his Faith (at Bishop Bramhall's instance) as it is professed in the Church of England: which gave such offence to the Romanists there, who would have reported he died a Papist, if he had not spoken at all, that they threatened the Bishop's death, if he did not suddenly depart the town. At Portumnagh, indeed, he and such as went with him enjoyed afterwards more freedom under the Marquis of Clanrickard's protection, and an allowance of the Church service: but, at the revolt of Cork, he had a very narrow deliverance, which Cromwell was so troubled at, that he declared he would have given a good sum of money for that *Irish Canterbury*[d]."

[O] *Narrowly escaped thence in a little bark.*] This escape of his is accounted very wonderful: for "the little bark he was in was closely hunted by two of the Parliament frigates, many of which were on that coast; and when they were come so near, that all hopes of being saved were taken away, ... on a sudden the wind slackened into a perfect calm, and as it were flew into the sails of the little vessel, and carried her away in view[e]."

[P] *But he met with an unexpected diversion in his first day's journey into that kingdom.*] "For he no sooner came into the house where he intended to refresh himself, but he was known and called by his name by the hostess. And his Lordship admiring at his being discovered, she soon revealed the secret, and shewed him his own picture, and assured him there were several of them upon the road; that, being known by them, he might be seized and carried to the Inquisition; and that her husband, among others, had power to that purpose, which he would certainly make use of if he found him. The Bishop saw evidently he was a condemned man, being already hanged *in effigie*, and therefore made use of the advertisement, and escaped out of the power of that Court[f]."

[c] [Thurloe's State Papers, vol. i. p. 80.]

[d] Life, as above, pp. 27, 28.

[e] Life, as above, p. 28.

[f] Life, as above, p. 33. [See also the additional remarks at the end of note U.—"Granger (Biograph. Hist. vol v. p. 193. 4to. edit.) introduces this story, merely to remark on the word 'picture,' that it was 'doubtless his print, which he never saw.' Sir William Musgrave, in his MS. Adversaria (in the British Museum), observes that it was neither a painting nor an engrav-

[Q] *Archbishop of Armagh, Primate and Metropolitan of all Ireland.*] The author of his life observes[g], that "no man could be more acceptable to the clergy there, because none so fit to repair the breaches of the Church, by knowing to what part every stone and every piece of timber belonged, as this skilful architect, who, by assigning the proper place for every thing, had the satisfaction to see the building rise suddenly out of its ashes, without the noise of hammer[h], or any contradiction; the authority of his person and of his judgment silenced all the opposition which one of less veneration might possibly have met with. All men's expectations were fixed on him; and many of the prime nobility and clergy in England" (particularly the Queen of Bohemia)[i] "congratulated the Church's happiness in his promotion." [It may be worth while to quote a few words from two of the letters of congratulation here alluded to: the first, that of the Queen of Bohemia (daughter of James I.) "who in a letter addressed to his Grace prayed him to be confident 'that none of his friends could be more glad, or wished him more happiness, than his ever most affectionate friend Elizabeth[k];'" the other, that of Lord Caulfield, "afterwards known by the honourable epithet of the good Lord Charlemont[l]," who tells him (in a letter dated Oct. 22, 1660[m]), that "as the news of your Lordship's safe arrival is most welcome to me, so is it likewise occasion of great rejoicing to all those in the kingdom who truly fear God, and pray for the welfare of his Church: it being yet fresh in the memories of us all, how eminent an instrument your Lordship hath been long

ing, but a description of the person by words, which was usually drawn up by a painter, and was therefore called a picture. But the expression of 'being hanged in effigy,' which, as Granger does not mention it, Sir William probably never saw, seems to imply some kind of engraving or caricature.'" (Chalmers' Biogr. Dict., Art. Bramhall).]

[g] Page 34.

[h] [Bp. Bramhall "was neither a boaster of revelations nor an observer of dreams; and yet he would often before the Rebellion of Ireland speak of one, that then much troubled him, which was, that being in a very fair Cathedral Church he thought it suddenly fell upon him, so that he was almost buried in the rubbish, but, having with much difficulty got out, and looking upon it some time, he saw it rise up without any noise; of every part whereof he lived to see the verification (Life, &c., p. 33).]

[i] [Perhaps nothing marks more strongly the estimation in which Bp. Bramhall was deservedly held, than the intimacy which he enjoyed with the great and good among *every* class of his contemporaries. Among his friends are to be numbered (besides the two, whose letters are quoted above) "Lord Strafford, Abps. Laud and Usher, Sir George Radcliffe, Mr. Wandesforde, the Marquis of Ormond, Lords Orrery and Southampton" (Advertisement to Rawdon Papers); to whom may be added the Marquis of Newcastle, the Marquis of Montrose, Sir William Boswell, and, lastly, one not the least honourable of the list, Evelyn.]

[k] [Quoted in Rawd. Papers, p. 118, note; and by Bp. Vesey, Life, &c. p. 34.]

[l] [Mant, Ch. of Ireland, ch. ix. § 1. p. 605.]

[m] [Rawd. Papers, No. liii.]

since in the propagating the true ancient Protestant religion in this kingdom."]

[R] *And effectually obtained the point he aimed at.*] We have "one instance of his prudence, in turning the edge of the most popular objection of that time against conformity. When the benefices were called over at the visitation, several appeared, and exhibited only such titles as they had received from the late powers. He told them, 'they were no legal titles, but in regard he heard well of them, he was willing to make such to them by institution and induction;'" which they thankfully accepted of.—But when he desired "to see their letters of orders, some had no other but their certificates of ordination by some Presbyterian classes, which, he told them, did not qualify them for any preferment in the Church. Upon this, the question arose, 'Are we not Ministers of the Gospel?' To which his Grace answered, That was not the question; at least, he desired for peace sake, that might not be the question for that time. 'I dispute not,' said he, 'the value of your ordination, nor those acts you have exercised by virtue of it; what you are, or might be, here when there was no law, or in other Churches abroad. But we are now to consider ourselves as a national Church limited by law, which among other things takes chief care to prescribe about ordination; and I do not know how you could recover the means of the Church, if any should refuse to pay you your tithes, if you are not ordained as the law of this Church requireth; and I am desirous that she may have your labours, and you such portions of her revenue as shall be allotted you, in a legal and assured way.' By this means he gained such as were learned and sober[n]."

[S] *Chosen Speaker of the house of Lords, in the Parliament which met at the same time.*] The author of his life observes[o], that "it is not easy to say which of the two places he filled best, whether the Statesman or Divine shined with greater brightness. He had a judgment so clear, and a speech so plain and persuasive, that he could readily unravel any intricacy and divide all the parts of the controversy into their proper sides, so that the heavier scale would easily shew itself. In short, he so moderated and stated all questions that arose, that few assemblies can boast of so great an interest being disputed with so little noise (though there wanted not some) in those kind of arguments wherein men are not usually the most silent."

[T] *The latter end of June he was seized with the third fit of the*

[n] Life, &c. pp. 35, 36. [See the additional remarks at the end of note U.]

[o] Page 37.

palsy.] "He had then a trial for some part of his temporal estate, at Omagh, with Sir Audley Mervyn[p], depending in the court of claims; and there, at the time of hearing, ... the third fit of the palsy so smote him, that he sunk in the court, was carried out senseless, and continued so till death finished his work[q]. Had the cause been unjust," as the author of his Life [goes on to] observe, "or adjudged against him, some censorious spirits would not have spared to have made left-hand judgments from the circumstances of his death: but his right so appeared on the argument, that he was a conqueror in his death, and victory and honour waited upon him to the grave[r]."

[U] *We shall give an account of his Works, &c.*] They were most of them published [and, excepting three out of the four sermons, the whole of them written] at different times [during Dr. Bramhall's exile from Ireland, between 1643 and 1660]. But they were all reprinted at Dublin [at intervals from 1674 to 1676, and published together in the last named year, and again with only a trifling change in the title-page] in the year 1677, in one volume folio, with this title:—"The Works of the most Reverend Father in God, John Bramhall, D.D. late Lord Archbishop of Ardmagh, Primate and Metropolitan of all Ireland. Some of which never before printed. Collected into one volume. To which is added (for the vindication of some of his writings), An exact Copy of the Records, touching Archbishop Parker's Consecration, taken from the original, in the Registry of the See of Canterbury. As also, the Copy of an old Manuscript, in Corpus Christi College, in Cambridge, of the same Subject;"—[with a life of the author prefixed by the editor Bp. Vesey, and a dedication to Michael (Boyle) then Archbishop of Dublin. Very little pains or care however were bestowed upon either the text or the references by Dr. Vesey, the collection and arrangement of Bp. Bramhall's Works (with the information contained in the Life,) constituting the only merits of his edition.]

[p] [See Letters, No. XII. Sir A. Mervyn had opened the proceedings against Bramhall when he was impeached in 1641, in a very virulent speech, Nalson, vol. ii. pp. 566, &c.]

[q] [Bishop Mant (Church of Ireland, ch. ix. § 2. p. 644) mentions, on the authority of Palliser's Funeral Oration for Abp. Margetson, that Bramhall on his death-bed recommended that prelate to the Duke of Ormond (then Lord Lieutenant) as his successor: an anecdote, he adds, of which Harris (in his edition of Ware, Art. upon Abp. Margetson) has questioned the accuracy on the ground of its incompatibility with the circumstances of Dr. Bramhall's death; unnecessarily, however, as the Abp. had regarded himself as upon his death-bed since his second attack of the palsy three (it should be five—See p. xiii. notes k and m) months before.]

[r] Life, &c. p. 42. [See also the Abp.'s will, among his Letters, &c. No. XVI.]

This volume is divided into four Tomes or Parts.

I. Tome I. containeth the Discourses against the Romanists; viz.

1. "An Answer to M. de la Militière" [Milletière[s]], "his impertinent Dedication of his imaginary Triumph (intitled 'The Victory of Truth'), or his Epistle to the King of Great Britain" (King Charles II.), "wherein he inviteth his Majesty to forsake the Church of England, and to embrace the Roman Catholic Religion: with the said Militière's" [Milletière's] "Epistle prefixed."

This was first published at the Hague in [1653], 12mo., but not by the author. [It was acknowledged by him in his "Just Vindication," &c.[t] (published the next year, 1654), "excepting the errors of the press," of which he there noticed one: and was upon this again published, but evidently not by Bramhall himself (The Hague, 12mo. 1654), as "corrected according to his Lordship's own directions in his Vindication," &c. viz. with that one error and that only corrected, together with a few alterations in the (so called) translation, prefixed to it, of La Milletière's Epistle. Bayle[u], Niceron[x], and Bramhall[y] himself, speak also of a French translation of the Answer (Geneva, 1655, 8vo.), entitled "Réponse faite par le Commandement du Roi de la Grande Brétagne a l'Epître Dedicatoire du Triomphe Imaginaire de M. de la Milletière," with an "Avis au Lecteur" by the Genevese editor prefixed: and the original has been again lately republished in 12mo. from the folio edition (corrected, however, as it should seem, by that of 1654), with one or two notes and a memoir of the Author abridged from Dr. Vesey's Life, by the Rev. G. Ingram, Lond. 1841.]

The occasion of it was, that the Romanists endeavoured to persuade King Charles II., during his exile, to hope his restoration by embracing their religion; and for that purpose employed M. de la [Milletière], Counsellor in Ordinary to the King of France, to write to him [the Epistle in question[z]. This was published in 1651, at Paris, where Charles's court then was; and Dr. Bramhall's reply, written (if we may trust the Genevese editor) by his Majesty's express command, and probably enough for his private satisfaction[a],

[s] [See note b, p. 10. (marginal paging) of La Milletière's Epistle.]

[t] [c. x. Works, Part i. Discourse ii. p. 136, fol. edit.]

[u] [Dictionn., Art. Milletière.]

[x] [Memoires, &c. tom. xli. Art. Milletière.]

[y] ["Vindic. of Episcop. Clergy," &c. c. vi., Works, Part ii. Discourse iii. p. 627. fol. edit.]

[z] Life, &c. as above, pp. 29, 30. [and Jer. Taylor's Fun. Serm.]

[a] [Bramhall's tract was not designed for publication, but was written for some private purpose unspecified ("Just Vindication," &c. c. x. as quoted in note t.).]

was apparently composed[b] at the same place at the close of the same year[c].]

2. "A Just Vindication of the Church of England from the unjust Aspersion of Criminal Schism, wherein the Nature of criminal Schism, the divers Sorts of Schismatics, the Liberties and Privileges of National Churches, the Rights of Sovereign Magistrates, the Tyranny, Extortion, and Schism, of the Roman Court, with the Grievances, Complaints, and opposition of all Princes and States of the Roman Communion of Old, and at this very Day, are manifested to the View of the World."

First printed at London [in 1654, 8vo., 'from a written copy, during the Author's absence,' he being then in Holland; and again, with the "Replication," &c. (Part i. Discourse iii.) bound up under the same title-page, also at London] in 1661, 8vo., [but apparently, as before, without the author's superintendence, this second being merely a reprint of the first edition with the errata corrected.

The immediate occasion of this treatise, which was originally designed to form an appendix to the Answer to La Milletière[d], seems to have been the publication abroad by English Roman Catholics of several works[e], in which the accusation of schism was put forward prominently, as an unanswerable confutation of the pretensions of the English Church[f].] In this Discourse [, accordingly,

[b] [See the Answer itself, p. 23, note l. p. 78, note l. of the present edit.; and that Bramhall was in Paris in December 1651, see above, p. xi. note u. His previous residence in Holland may be traced in the Dutch words, which occasionally occur in this tract.]

[c] [In reply to Baxter's objections to the "Answer," Bramhall observes (Vindic. of Episcop. Clergy, c. vi. as quoted in note y), that abroad "it hath been more happy,—to confirm many, to convert some (and particularly the transcriber of the copy which was brought to the press)," "to irritate no man but the common adversaries, who vented their spleen against it weekly in their pulpits, as thinking that the easiest way of confutation;" adding, that "some" of the old Episcopal Divines, (i. e. of England) had "approved it and thanked him for it."]

[d] [Answer to La Millet., pp. 36. 60. of the present edit., and the Just Vindication, &c. as quoted in note t.]

[e] [The Appendix (De Schismate) to Dr. Holden's book De Resolutione Fidei, Paris, 1652. 8vo.—Mr. Knott's "Infidelity Unmasked;" Gant, 1652. 4to.]

[f] [The general tone of the controversy with the Romanists seems to have turned at this time very much upon the question of Schism. Dr. Hammond's treatise "Of Schism," and another, by Dr. Ferne, "Of the Division between the English and Romish Church upon the Reformation," &c., had been published in London in 1653, and Sir Roger Twysden's "Historical Vindication of the Church of England in point of Schism" followed Bramhall's (but to all appearance independently) in 1657 (Lond. 4to.). The latter is partly a reply to a "Treatise of the Schism of England" by Philip Scot (Amsterd. 1650), but is partly also directed against the arguments of the Romanists generally. Sir G. Radcliffe again writes to Bramhall from Paris, July 21, 1656 (Rawd. Papers, p. 102), that he had met there "with sundry very learned men," who seemed "to agree" with him "in points of Faith, and particu-

the Author] proves [among other points], That the separation from the Court of Rome was not made by Protestants, but Roman Catholics themselves[g]; That the Britannic Churches were ever exempted from all foreign jurisdiction for the first six hundred years[h]; and had both sufficient authority and sufficient grounds to withdraw their obedience from Rome[i]. [Although such however may have been the immediate occasion of the work, yet the subject had dwelt in the author's mind long previously, and appears indeed to have been his favourite topic[k].]

3. "A Replication to the Bishop of Chalcedon" (Richard Smith) "his 'Survey of the Vindication of the Church of England from Criminous Schism,' clearing the English laws from the Aspersion of Cruelty. With an Appendix in Answer to the exceptions of S. W." [(William Sergeant), "or a Reply to S. W.'s 'Refutation of the Bp. of Derry's Just Vindication of the Church of England.'"]

Printed at first [in London, 1656, 8vo., the "Survey," &c. by R. C. (i. e. Richard Chalcedon) having appeared in 1654. The unsold copies of this edition were bound up, under a common title-page,] with [the new impression, in 1661, of] the "Just Vindication," &c.

4. "Schism Guarded, and beaten back upon the right Owners, Shewing,—that our great Controversie about Papal power, is not a question of Faith, but of Interest and Profit, not with the Church of Rome but with the Court of Rome; wherein the true Controversie doth consist; who were the first Innovators; when, and where, these Papal Innovations first began in England; with the Opposition that was made against them."

This [was first[l] printed at the Hague, 1658, 8vo.; and republished but not reprinted in the following year in London, with "The Consecration and Succession," &c. (the treatise to be next mentioned) bound up with it, and an additional title-page for the whole volume, as follows; "Ῥομφαία Δίστομος Ὀξεῖα, or, The Church of England

larly about the Pope's jurisdiction, and the Bread in the Sacrament, which two points" he had "thought most irreconcileable;" but "the Schism" was "that only which is now the block between us." See also a preceding letter of his (Rawd. Papers, pp. 99, 100).]

[g] Ch. iii.

[h] Ch. v.

[i] Ch. vi.

[k] See above, note E. [A letter of Bp. Morley to the author upon the publication of this work is quoted by Dr. Vesey, in which that Bishop says that he "never saw anything written of that argument so clearly, so fully, so convincingly; and therefore" he adds, "I heartily thank your Lordship for it, not only in my own name, but of the whole Clergy and Church of England, which thereby is notably vindicated from the greatest prejudice that lay upon her, or could with any probability be objected to her," &c. (Life, &c. pp. 30, 31.).]

[l] [Advertisement to Reader, dated March 11, 1658 stilo novo, and prefixed to the "Castigations of Mr. Hobbes," Works, p. 734. fol. edit.]

Defended, in two treatises, against the fabulous and slanderous imputations cast upon her in the two points of Succession of Bishops, and Schisme, wherein the Fable of the Nag's Head Ordination is detected, and the accusation of Schism retorted."

It] is an answer to a book entitled, "Schism Dispatcht, [or, A Rejoinder to the Replics of Dr. Hammond and the Lord of Derry" (i. e. to Dr. Hammond's "Disarmer's Dexterities Examined," Lond. 1656, and to Bramhall's Reply to S. W. in the appendix to his "Replication," &c., above mentioned);] by S. W. i. e. Will. Sergeant [1657. 8vo.]; and our Author proves therein, [among other points,] that the Pope hath no legislative nor judiciary power in England[m].

5. "The Consecration and Succession of Protestant Bishops justified. The Bishop of Duresme Vindicated. And that infamous Fable, of the Ordination at the Nag's Head, clearly confuted."

This [appears to have been, from its subject, among the most popular of Dr. Bramhall's Works. It was first published at the Hague in 1658, and again, as above mentioned, with "Schism Guarded," in London, in 1659. A third edition (Lond. 1664. 8vo.) is mentioned by Nicolson[n], separately from "Schism Guarded;" and a fourth, also separate, appeared in 1716 (Lond. 8vo.).

It] is an answer [partly] to a calumny of two Jesuits, Father Talbot and Father B . . . . ., against our Author. And the Bishop of Durham here vindicated, is Bishop Morton, who was charged by the same Fathers [upon the authority of a certain Nobleman, viz. Lord Audley[o]],—"in 1640, when some Presbyterian Lords presented to the Upper House a book, proving, that the Protestant Bishops had no Succession or Consecration, and therefore were no Bishops,"—to have made a speech against that book; and "endeavoured to prove succession from the last" [Roman] "Catholic Bishops, who, by imposition of hands, ordained the first Protestant Bishops at the Nag's Head in Cheapside[p]."—In opposition to this, Bishop Morton[q], and such of the Spiritual and temporal Lords as were in the House in 1640 and still living in 1658, made solemn

[m] Sect. i. ch. 6, 7.

[n] [Eng. Hist. Libr. p. 138. 3rd edit.]

[o] [Neither Bramhall nor the Fathers had in the first instance named this nobleman, but the latter (or their representative) broke through their scruples in their reply. See the "Nullity of the Prelatique Clergy, by N. N." ch. ix.]

[p] [These are "the words of the Fathers themselves," as quoted by Bramhall in his Reply, ch. ii. Works, p. 430. fol. edit.]

[q] [Dean Barwick, then chaplain to Bp. Morton, was about to reply to the story; but hearing of the Bp. of Derry's intention, he handed over the materials, which he had collected, to him (Life of Barwick, by his brother, p. 174. Eng. Transl.). See the work itself, ch. ii. p. 432. fol. edit.]

protestations (inserted in this book), "That no such book was ever presented, nor such a speech made by Bishop Morton." [The charge was brought by the Fathers (or by one of them, or of their party) in the 2nd chapter of a book, entitled "A Treatise of the nature of the Catholique Faith and of Heresy by N. N." (Rouen, 1657); to the remainder of the second chapter of which book the greater part of Bramhall's Work is a reply, the story of the Nag's Head Ordination being its principal argument[r].]

II. Tome II., "Against the English Sectaries;" comprehends,

1. "A Fair Warning to take heed of the Scottish Discipline, as being of all others most injurious to the Civil Magistrate, most oppressive to the Subject, most pernicious to both."

[First published in 1649[s], 4to., no place; but spoken of in a "Review" of it by one Robert Baylie[t], as "published in Holland[u];" and republished but not reprinted in 1661, at the Hague, with Baylie's Review and a "Second Fair Warning in vindication of the First," by Rich. Watson[x], bound up under a common title-page. Another edition, without either name or place, and with considerable omissions and errors, appeared also in 1649[y]: and another, (an exact reprint of the first mentioned[z]) was published between 1661 and 1663, and either in England or in Ireland[a].]

2. "The Serpent Salve: or, A Remedy for the biting of an Aspe:

[r] [A Rejoinder to Bramhall's work, entitled "The Nullity of the Prelatique Clergy and Church of England further discovered, in answer to the plain prevarication, &c., of D. John Bramhall," &c. &c. appeared in 1659 (Antw. 8vo.) from the pen of the same N. N. The Nag's Head Ordination was not a new subject to Bramhall; he had treated of it incidentally in his "Protestants' Ordination Defended" (unpublished however at this time), Works, Part iv. Discourse vii. pp. 1006, 1007. fol. edit. —of which see below.]

[s] [That this was its *first* publication, is fixed by the quotation in the book itself (Works, p. 503. fol. edit.) of a 'Solemn Acknowledgment, &c.' made by the General Assembly of Scotland, Oct. 6. 1648.]

[t] ["Review of Dr. Bramble" (sic), "late Bp. of Londenderry, his Fair Warning against the Scotes Disciplin, by R. B. G." (Robert Baylie, minister at Glasgow, at the time, however, with Charles II. at the Hague.) Delph. 1649. 4to. The name is mispelt *Bromwell* in the title-page of the book itself.]

[u] [Bp. Bramhall had returned from Ireland and was at Rotterdam in Oct. 1648: see above, p. x, note r.]

[x] [First published in 1651, Hague, 4to. He was chaplain to Lord Hopton.]

[y] [From the substitution in at least one instance ("reglement" for "regulation") of a foreign for an English word, this edition also would seem to have been printed abroad, and very possibly without the author's knowledge, as he does not appear to have ever disavowed or concealed his authorship.]

[z] [The title-page and a table of contents (taken from the headings of the chapters) excepted.]

[a] [It is entitled "A Fair Warning for England, to take heed of the Scottish Discipline, &c. &c. Also the Sinfulnesse and wickednesse of the Covenant, to introduce that Government upon the Church of England, by Dr. John Brumhall" (sic), "Lord Archbishop of Armagh and Primate, &c., now reprinted for the good and benefit of all his Majesty's Subjects."]

Wherein the Observator's Grounds are discussed, &c." written Dialogue-wise, and in vindication of King Charles I., [(in reply to a tract by Henry Parker, entitled "Observations upon some of His Majesty's late Answers and Expresses," published anonymously in 1642)]; wherein the author endeavours to prove that 'power is not originally inherent in, and derived from, the people, &c.' [It was the first publication of Bp. Bramhall, and was] first printed in 1643[b], [i. e. in the spring of 164$\frac{3}{4}$, whilst he was in Yorkshire with the Marquis of Newcastle[c].]

3. "Bishop Bramhall's Vindication of himself, and the Episcopal Clergy, from the Presbyterian charge of Popery, as it is managed by Mr. Baxter, in his treatise of the Grotian Religion." [first published under this title by Dr. Samuel Parker in 1672 (Lond. 8vo.), nine years after the author's death, with a Preface, which excited a great deal of controversy by its violence, "shewing what grounds there are of Fears and Jealousies of Popery." It was written in the latter end of 1659 or beginning of 1660, after the author had been sixteen years in exile[d], in answer to Baxter's "Treatise of the Grotian Religion against Thos. Pierce" (1658. Lond.), wherein Bramhall was accused by name of a design to bring in Popery; and is the last, a few sermons excepted, of his published writings.]

III. Tome III. Against Mr. Hobbes.

1. "A Defence of True Liberty, from antecedent and extrinsecal Necessity. Being an answer to a late book of Mr. Thomas Hobbs of Malmesbury, intitled, A Treatise of Liberty and Necessity."

[The controversy between Bramhall and Hobbes, which gave occasion to this and the following works, took its rise from a conversation, that passed between them at an accidental meeting, in 1645, at the house of the Marquis of Newcastle in Paris. It appears from the works themselves, that the Bishop subsequently committed his thoughts upon the subject to writing, and transmitted his "discourse" through the Marquis to Hobbes. This called forth an answer from the latter in a letter addressed to the Marquis (dated Rouen, Aug.

[b] [Title-page; see also Vesey's Life, &c. p. 27.]

[c] [Abp. Usher, in a letter to Bramhall dated Oxford 1644, speaks of having "at length received his book together with his sermon" (viz. Serpent Salve, and the sermon before the M. of Newcastle of Jan. 28. 164$\frac{3}{4}$.); adding that he "cannot sufficiently commend" the author's "dexterity in clearing those points which have not been so satisfactorily handled by those who have taken pains in the same argument before;" and that he had "profited more thereby than by any of the books he had read before touching that subject" (Dr. Vesey's Life, &c. p. 27). Both the sermon and the book are likewise mentioned and discussed by Sir G. Radcliffe in a letter to Bramhall, dated Oxon 20. March 1643, thanking him for the present of them (Rawd. Papers, No. xxxvii).]

[d] [See his own words in ch. v.—Works, p. 524. fol. edit.]

20, 1645), to be communicated "only to my Lord Bishop;" to which Bramhall replied in a second paper, not however until the middle of the following year[e], and privately as before. Here the controversy rested for more than eight years, having been hitherto carried on with perfect courtesy on both sides. In 1654, however, a friend of Hobbes procured without his knowledge a copy of his letter, and published it in London with Hobbes' name, but with the erroneous date of 1652 for 1645; upon which Bramhall, finding himself thus deceived, rejoined in the next year by the publication of the "Defence, &c." (Lond. 1655. 8vo.) consisting of his own original "discourse," of Hobbes' answer, and of his own reply, printed sentence by sentence, with a dedication to the Marquis of Newcastle, and an advertisement to the reader explaining the circumstances under which it was published.]

2. "Castigations of Mr. Hobbes, his last Animadversions, in the case concerning Liberty and universal Necessity [, wherein all his exceptions about the controversie are fully satisfied]."

3. "The Catching of Leviathan, or the Great Whale; Demonstrating, out of Mr. Hobs his own Works, that no man who is thoroughly a Hobbist, can be a good Christian, or a good Commonwealth's man, or reconcile himself to himself, because his Principles are not only destructive to all Religion, but to all Societies; extinguishing the Relation between Prince and Subject, Parent and Child, Master and Servant, Husband and Wife: and abound with palpable contradictions."

[These two works were printed in London, the first in 1657, the second, as an appendix to it, in 1658; and as two parts of one and the same volume. It would seem that Bramhall took advantage of the "slowness of this edition" (it being printed in London while he was in Holland) to add to a part of the impression a common title-page for the whole volume, an additional "Advertisement to the Reader" (dated March 11, 1658, new style), and a table of errata; as copies exist with these additions (from one of which the folio edition was taken), which are in every other respect identical with those, wherein these additions are wanting.

The occasion of the first of the two was, the publication by Hobbes in 1656 of a reply to the "Defence," entitled "The Questions concerning Liberty, Necessity, and Chance, clearly stated and debated between Dr. Bramhall, Bp. of Derry, and Thomas Hobbes of Malmesbury," in which the whole of the "Defence" had been reprinted with Hobbes' own "Animadversions" upon it, head by

[e] [See the 1st page of the Defence.]

head: an example of "needless repetition," which Bramhall had himself set, but did not now continue.

The second has no further connection with the dispute, than as being provoked by it; and as directed against another treatise of the same adversary. Hobbes in this instance took his time to reply, his answer not appearing until 1682 (Lond. 8vo.), nearly twenty years after his opponent's death.]

IV. Tome IV. [Upon Miscellaneous Subjects,] contains,

1. "The Controversies about the Sabbath, and the Lord's Day; with their respective obligations; clearly, succinctly, and impartially, stated, discussed, and determined."

[First published in the folio edition[f], but written in the year 1658[g] or thereabouts, in consequence of the controversy which arose about that time in England between Dr. Bernard on the one side and Dr. Heylin and Dr. Pierce on the other concerning some opinions of Abp. Usher, and among the rest, his Judgment of the Sabbath and Observation of the Lord's Day. A tract which Bramhall had not seen when he wrote the earlier part of his book, but which he notices in its conclusion, was published by Dean Bernard in 1657 and 1658 at London, entitled, "The Judgment of the late Abp. of Armagh," &c., "1. Of the Extent of Christ's Death and Satisfaction, 2. of the Sabbath and Observation of the Lord's Day, 3. of the Ordination in other Reformed Churches," and noticing also rather sharply the substitution of the English for the Irish articles in the Convocation of 1634 at Dublin. The bulk of Dr. Bramhall's treatise is addressed to a friend unnamed[h], who had asked him for his opinion upon the subject without specifying his reason for requiring it, that reason apparently being the controversy above mentioned.]

2. "A Sermon preached in York Minster before his Excellency the Marquis of Newcastle, being then ready to meet the Scotch army, Jan. 28, 1643 [i. e. 164$\frac{3}{4}$.][i]."

3. "A Sermon preached at Dublin, upon the twenty-third of April 1661, being the day appointed for his Majestie's Coronation;

[f] [General table of Contents to the folio edition.]

[g] [From the date of publication of Dean Bernard's book mentioned above in the text. See Bramhall's Works, p. 934. fol. edit.]

[h] [This friend had himself written a "treatise" upon the subject (Works, p. 907. fol. edit.); but there is no further clue to his name. A fragment of a letter by Bramhall (see Letters, No. XI.) upon the same controversy, addressed, according to Bp. Barlow's endorsement, to Dean Bernard, might lead to the conjecture that he was the person: but there is no other treatise by Dean Bernard at all bearing upon the subject, except the one mentioned in the text; and this (if it can be called a "treatise" at all) was not seen by Bramhall until he had written nearly the whole of his book.]

[i] [See above, what is said of "Serpent-Salve."]

with two Speeches made in the House of Peers, the eleventh of May, 1661, when the House of Commons presented their Speaker."

4. "The right Way to Safety after Shipwrack: in a Sermon preached to the Honourable House of Commons in St. Patrick's Church, Dublin, June 16, 1661, at their solemn receiving of the Blessed Sacrament."

[Both this and the last-mentioned sermons were first printed in 1661, upon their delivery, and the latter by request of the House of Commons[k].]

5. "A short Discourse to Sir Henry De Vic, about a passage at his table, after the Christening of his Daughter, Anne Charlott; of Persons dying without Baptism[l]." ["Written while in exile," i. e. at Brussels between 1644 and 1648. This and the next Paper were apparently printed for the first time in the folio edition.]

6 "An Answer to two Papers brought him June the 19th, 1645, about the Protestants' Ordination," &c. [written June 20th. in that year at Brussels.]

7 "Protestants' Ordination Defended," &c. or "An Answer to the twentieth Chapter of The Guide of Faith; or, The third Part of the Antidote of S. N. Doctor of Divinity[m]:" [written before 1654[n], but apparently first published in the folio edition.]

He had, likewise, prepared a hundred sermons for the press, but they [, with some memoirs he had written of his own life,] were "torn by the rats before his death[o]." [A short discourse upon Transubstantiation, written for the satisfaction of the English merchants at Antwerp during his first exile[p],—a History of Hull, said to have been published shortly before his quitting England in 1644[q], —a reply to some objections made by a Jesuit against his Answer

[k] [The title-pages of both Sermons by a singular mistake give the date 1660: yet it appears by the same title-pages, that the Sermons were not preached, nor the Speeches delivered, until *after* March 1661.]

[l] See above [in the Life itself, p. x.]

[m] [The full title of the work to which Bramhall replied, is as follows;—"The Guide of Faith, or, A third Part of the Antidote against the Pestiferous writings of all English Sectaries, and in particular, against D. Bilson, D. Fulke, D. Reynolds, D. Whitaker, D. Field, D. Sparkes, D. White, and M. Mason, the chief upholders, some of Protestancy, and some of Puritanisme. Wherein the Truth, and perpetual Visible Succession, of the Catholique Roman Church, is clearly demonstrated, by S. N. Doctor of Divinity, 4to., no place, 1621.]

[n] [It is mentioned by Bramhall in his Just Vindication, c. ix. Works, p. 134. fol. edit.]

[o] [Life, &c. p. 29.]

[p] [Life, &c. p. 27; and see above, p. x.]

[q] [Life, &c. p. 27; but the report might allude, as Dr. Vesey suggests, to the latter part of Serpent-Salve, published at this time, which treats at length of Sir J. Hotham's treason at Hull. See Works, pp. 581, &c. fol. edit.]

to La Milletière[r],—and a paper of objections against Hobbes' book "*De Cive*[s]"—have been also lost.

Two treatises on the other hand have been attributed to him incorrectly; one, an "*Apologia pro Rege et Populo Anglicano, Contra Johannis Polypragmatici* (*alias Miltoni Angli*) *Defensionem destructivam Regis et Populi*" (i. e. Milton's well-known "*Defensio Populi Anglicani*"), published in 1651, and supposed to be Bramhall's by Milton, and his nephew Phillips (who answered it); the other a treatise against the Presbyterians, entitled "The Countermine, or a Short but True Discovery of the Dangerous Principles and Secret Practices of the Presbyterians," &c. &c. published anonymously at London in 1677. That the former was not Bramhall's has been satisfactorily shewn by Archdeacon Todd[t], from the "contemptible and barbarous style" of the work, from the avowal of the authorship by the real author[u] in a subsequent work, and from the express denial of Bramhall himself[x]. The latter is written in a style very different from the nervous energy of Dr. Bramhall's; and was really the composition of Dr. John Nalson. Lastly, he is said[y] (although upon very slight grounds) to have assisted in the composition of two other treatises against the Presbyterians by one John Corbet, once a Presbyterian Minister at Bonyl, near Dumbarton, viz. "The Ungirding of the Scottish Armour[z]," and "Lysimachus Nicanor[a];" and also[b] in that of a third, by Bp. Maxwell[c] (attributed however by some to the same John Corbet), entitled "The Burthen of Issachar[d]."]

[r] Mentioned in the "Vindic. of Episcop. Clergy," c. vi. Works, p. 626. fol. edit.]

[s] [Mentioned in the Preface to the "Defence of True Liberty," &c., Works, p. 618. fol. edit.]

[t] [Life of Milton, sect. iii. pp. 133—135. note.]

[u] [An English clergyman, named John Rowland.]

[x] [In a letter to his Son, Letters No. IX.]

[y] [Life, &c. p. 24. The story is inverted by Mr. Baylie, in his Review of Fair Warning, ch. i. p. 2. who accuses Bramhall of borrowing, in that treatise, from Corbet's Lysimachus Nicanor, and Maxwell's Burthen of Issachar. Corbet, when compelled to fly to Ireland, upon his refusal to take the Covenant, was protected and patronised by Bramhall (Life, &c. p. 27.).]

[z] ["In answer to the Informations for Defensive Armes against the King's Majestie, which were drawn up by the Covenanters at Edinburgh, &c. &c., to draw them to take up armes, against the Lord's Anointed, throughout the whole kingdom of Scotland." Dublin, 4to. 1639. With Licence from the Primate Usher, and a Dedication to the Lord Deputy, Wentworth.]

[a] ["The Epistle Congratulatory of Lysimachus Nicanor, of the Society of Jesu, to the Covenanters in Scotland, wherein is Paralleled our Sweet Harmony and Correspondency in Divers Materiall Points of Doctrine and Practice." First printed anonymously, in 1640, 4to.]

[b] [Note by Baker, on Wood's Athen. Oxon. by Bliss, vol. iii. p. 1265.]

[c] [First of Ross, in Scotland, then of Killala and Tuam successively. He was received by Bp. Bramhall in Ireland, when compelled to fly from Scotland, in 1639 (Life, &c. p. 24.).]

[d] ["Or, The Tyrannical Power and Practices of the Presbyterian Government in Scotland." Lond. 1646. 4to.]

*** [Some additional remarks were appended to the Life of Bp. Bramhall by Towers and Kippis, in their edition of the Biograph. Britann.; of which those worthy of notice are here added.

1. They observe, that "the conduct of Bp. Bramhall in the Irish Convocation of 1634[e], doth not seem entitled to any very extravagant applause;" that "it was his aim to have the Articles of the Church of Ireland somewhat less Calvinistical," and that "in the management of this affair he shewed great *dexterity*." It must be remembered[f], however, that, in the substitution of the English for the Irish Articles by that Convocation (the former omitting, the latter containing, the five Lambeth Articles), the change *in itself* was held by *both* parties to be sufficiently formal to allow both to regard its accomplishment as in some sense a victory,—the Primate Usher and his friends considering the Irish Articles uncondemned by the act, although set aside, Bp. Bramhall and the Lord Deputy holding them to be *in effect* abrogated[g], but only or chiefly because set aside. The Bishop's *dexterity* therefore can scarcely be supposed or implied to have exceeded the bounds of honesty, because he urged the adoption of the measure upon the ground of its being in the main, and in itself, a merely formal change,—a ground, which the opinion of the opposite party also warranted him in assuming,—while he considered it all the time in its probable *consequences* to be real and most important.

2. It is further remarked by the same writers, that "the story of Bp. Bramhall's danger in Spain[h] is very extraordinary: for unless he had done something relative to that kingdom, of which we have no account, it seems scarcely conceivable that such measures should be adopted for apprehending him." However, in the words of Bp. Mant[i], "his well-known character, his station in the Church, his former connection with those of the highest authority in his own country, and the influence of which he was probably still possessed, may be sufficient to account for the hostility of" so "jealous and watchful" a tribunal as the Inquisition, and leave Bp. Vesey's statement "unsuspected."

The object of the journey seems to have been, partly, "the purpose[k] of drawing a parallel between the Liturgy of the Church of

[e] [See above note I.]

[f] [See the circumstantial account of the matter in Mant, Ch. of Ireland, ch. vii. § 5.]

[g] [So Bp. Vesey (Life, &c. pp. 17, 18), and Bp. Taylor (Funer. Sermon), and Bramhall himself (Discourse upon the Sabbath, pp. 936, 937, fol. edit.).]

[h] [See note P.]

[i] [Ch. of Irel., ch. viii. pp. 595, 596.]

[k] [Bp. Vesey reports this fact, as from Bramhall's own declaration to Dr. Walker, Dr. Vesey's uncle; and that Bramhall entertained a design of the kind, appears from his "Serpent-Salve," c. xii (p. 511. fol. edit.). Mant therefore (as quoted in note i) had insufficient reason to doubt its truth.]

England and the public forms of the Protestant Churches," and, partly, the settlement of some pecuniary affairs[1].

3. The writers above mentioned go on to remark, that "the matter of reordination[m] was a great difficulty in the last" (i. e. the seventeenth) "century, with many non-conformist divines, who were otherwise disposed to have come over to the Church of England;" that "the Ecclesiastical Commissioners of 1689 proposed to admit of some latitude in the affair;" and that "Abp. Bramhall had furnished them with a precedent for so doing, by the manner in which he had received some Scotch Presbyters into the Church." The extent of the latitude here hinted will be best seen by stating the instance given of it[n], viz. that, "in the orders" (i. e. *letters of orders*) "which he gave to Mr. Edward Parkinson, the following words were inserted:—'*Non annihilantes priores ordines* (*si quos habuit*) *nec invaliditatem eorundem determinantes, multo minus omnes ordines sacros Ecclesiarum forinsecarum condemnantes, quos proprio Judici relinquimus, sed solummodo supplentes quicquid prius defuit per canones Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ requisitum, et providentes paci Ecclesiæ, ut schismatis tollatur occasio, et conscientiis fidelium satisfiat, nec ulli dubitent de ejus ordinatione, aut actus suos presbyteriales tanquam invalidos aversentur. In cujus rei testimonium,*'" *&c.*

It is certainly "not a little remarkable" that a concession so carefully guarded should have been elsewhere made the foundation of a very serious and groundless misrepresentation. It has been however asserted[o], and upon the strength of the instance above given, that "with regard to any Ministers who had received Presbyterian orders during the confusion of the Great Rebellion, the method employed by Archbishop Bramhall, was, not to cause them 'to undergo a new ordination, but to admit them into the Ministry of the Church by a conditional ordination, as we do in the Baptism of those of whom it is uncertain whether they are baptized or not.' But this assertion is not supported by the statement of Bp. Vesey" upon the subject, "and the document alleged by him: on the contrary it is directly opposed to both. For they give us to understand that the Archbishop did 'ordain' the persons in question, 'as the law of this Church requireth;' therefore *not conditionally*, for the law of this Church recognises no conditional ordination: but that subsequently he introduced into his 'letters' of orders an explanatory remark.

[1] [See Letters, No. VIII.]

[m] [See above, note R.]

[n] From Birch's Life of Tillotson, p. 176. [See also Vesey's Life, &c. p. 36.]

[o] [By Nichols, in his Defence of the Church of England, Introd. p. 112.—quoted by Mant, Ch. of Irel., ch. ix. § 1. p. 625, from whom the rest of this paragraph is taken.]

The historian seems to identify the form of ordination with the subsequent letters of orders or certificate. But, whatever be the cause, the error is manifest; and it requires correction, both that the character of such a man as Primate Bramhall may be vindicated from the allegation, and even from the suspicion, of illegally deviating from the prescript forms of the Church, whereas he acted professedly and strictly 'as the law of the Church requireth;' and that the principles and provisions of the Church herself may not be misapprehended in a matter of such infinite importance[p]."

4. The writers above mentioned conclude with quoting Mr. Granger's[q] observation, that "Dr. Bramhall was one of the most able, learned, and active Prelates of the age in which he lived, an acute disputant, and an excellent preacher."

[p] [Bramhall's conduct in a somewhat parallel case to the one to which the above observations relate, may serve to strengthen their force: for it appears expressly that he did on one occasion reordain, although, it is true, at the person's own request, one who had originally received only Presbyterian orders (Life, &c. p. 34.).]

[q] Biographical Hist. [vol. V. p. 194. 4to. edit.]

A SERMON

PREACHED IN

CHRIST'S CHURCH, DUBLIN,

JULY 16, 1663;

AT THE FUNERAL OF

THE MOST REVEREND FATHER IN GOD,

JOHN

LATE LORD ARCHBISHOP OF ARMAGH, AND PRIMATE OF ALL IRELAND.

BY THE RIGHT REVEREND

JEREMY TAYLOR, D.D.

LORD BISHOP OF DOWN, CONNOR, AND DROMORE.

[Vol. vi. pp. 409, sq. of Taylor's Works, ed. Heber.—being the VIIth Sermon of the Δίκας Ἐμβολιμαῖος, or Supplement to the Ἐνίαυτος.]

A FUNERAL SERMON.

1 Cor. xv. 23.

But every man in his own order: Christ the first-fruits; afterward they that are Christ's at His coming.

The condition of man, in this world, is so limited and depressed, so relative and imperfect, that the best things he does, he does weakly,—and the best things he hath, are imperfections in their very constitution. I need not tell how little it is that we know: the greatest indication of this is that we can never tell how many things we know not; and we may soon span our own knowledge, but our ignorance we can never fathom. Our very will, in which mankind pretends to be most noble and imperial, is a direct state of imperfection; and our very liberty of choosing good and evil is permitted to us, not to make us proud, but to make us humble; for it supposes weakness of reason and weakness of love. For if we understood all the degrees of amability in the service of God, or if we had such love to God as He deserves, and so perfect a conviction as were fit for His services, we could no more deliberate: for liberty of will is like the motion of a magnetic needle toward the north, full of trembling and uncertainty till it were fixed in the beloved point; it wavers as long as it is free, and is at rest when it can choose no more. And truly what is the hope of man? It is indeed the resurrection of the soul in this world from sorrow and her saddest pressures, and like the twilight to the day, and the harbinger of joy; but still it is but a conjugation of infirmities, and proclaims our present calamity; only because it is uneasy here, it thrusts us forward toward the light and glories of the resurrection.

For as a worm creeping with her belly on the ground, with her portion and share of Adam's curse, lifts up its head to partake a little of the blessings of the air, and opens the junctures of her imperfect body, and curls her little rings into knots and combinations, drawing up her tail to a neighbourhood of the head's pleasure and motion; but still it must return to abide the fate of its own nature, and dwell and sleep upon the dust: so are the hopes of a mortal man; he opens his eyes, and looks upon fine things at distance, and shuts them again with weakness, because they are too glorious to behold; and the man rejoices because he hopes fine things are staying for him; but his heart aches, because he knows there are a thousand ways to fail and miss of those glories; and though he hopes, yet he enjoys not; he longs, but he possesses not, and must be content with his portion of dust; and being "a worm, and no man," must lie down in this portion, before he can receive the end of his hopes, the salvation of his soul in the resurrection of the dead. For as death is the end of our lives, so is the resurrection the end of our hopes; and as we "die daily," so we daily hope: but death, which is the end of our life, is the enlargement of our spirits from hope to certainty, from uncertain fears to certain expectations, from the death of the body to the life of the soul; that is, to partake of the light and life of Christ, to rise to life as He did; for His resurrection is the beginning of ours: He died for us alone, not for Himself; but He rose again for Himself and us too. So that if He did rise, so shall we; the resurrection shall be universal; good and bad, all shall rise, but not altogether: 'first Christ, then we that are Christ's;' and yet there is a third resurrection, though not spoken of here; but thus it shall be. "The dead of Christ shall rise first;" that is, next to Christ; and after them, the wicked shall rise to condemnation.

[Ps. xxii. 6.]

[1 Cor. xv. 31.]

[1 Thess. iv. 16.]

So that you see here is the sum of affairs treated of in my text: not whether it be lawful to eat a tortoise or a mushroom, or to tread with the foot bare upon the ground within the octaves of Easter. It is not here inquired, whether angels be material or immaterial; or whether the dwellings of dead infants be within the air or in the regions of the

earth? the inquiry here is, whether we are to be Christians or no? whether we are to live good lives or no? or whether it be permitted to us to live with lust or covetousness, acted with all the daughters of rapine and ambition? whether there be any such thing as sin, any judicatory for consciences, any rewards of piety, any difference of good and bad, any rewards after this life? This is the design of these words by proper interpretation: for if men shall die like dogs and sheep, they will certainly live like wolves and foxes; but he that believes the article of the resurrection, hath entertained the greatest demonstration in the world, that nothing can make us happy but the knowledge of God, and conformity to the life and death of the Holy Jesus. Here, therefore, are the great hinges of all religion: 1. Christ is already risen from the dead. 2. We also shall rise in God's time and our order. "Christ is the first-fruits." But there shall be a full harvest of the resurrection, and all shall rise. My text speaks only of the resurrection of the just, of them that belong to Christ; explicitly, I say, of these; and, therefore, directly of resurrection to life eternal. But because he also says there shall be an order for every man; and yet every man does not belong to Christ; therefore, indirectly also, he implies the more universal resurrection unto judgment: but this shall be the last thing that shall be done; for, according to the proverb of the Jews, Michael flies but with one wing, and Gabriel with two: God is quick in sending angels of peace, and they fly apace; but the messengers of wrath come slowly: God is more hasty to glorify His servants than to condemn the wicked. And, therefore, in the story of Dives and Lazarus, we find that the beggar died first; the good man, Lazarus, was first taken away from his misery to his comfort, and afterwards the rich man died; and as the good, many times, die first, so all of them rise first, as if it were a matter of haste: and as the mother's breasts swell, and shoot, and long to give food to her babe, so God's bowels did yearn over His banished children, and He longs to cause them to eat and drink in His kingdom. And at last the wicked shall rise unto condemnation, for that must be done too; every man in his own order: first Christ, then Christ's servants, and, at last, [Luke xvi. 22.]

Christ's enemies. The first of these is the great ground of our faith; the second is the consummation of all our hopes: the first is the foundation of God, that stands sure; the second is that superstructure that shall never perish: by the first we believe in God unto righteousness; by the second we live in God unto salvation: but the third, for that also is true, and must be considered, is the great affrightment of all them that live ungodly. But in the whole, Christ's resurrection and ours is "the *A* and *Ω*" of a Christian; that as "Jesus Christ is the same yesterday, and to-day, and the same for ever," so may we in Christ become the morrow of the resurrection, the same or better than yesterday in our natural life; the same body and the same soul, tied together in the same essential union, with this only difference, that not nature, but grace and glory, with an hermetic seal, give us a new signature, whereby we shall no more be changed, but, like unto Christ our Head, we shall become the same for ever. Of these I shall discourse in order. 1. That Christ, who is "the first fruits," is the first in this order: He is already risen from the dead. 2. We shall all take our turns, we shall die, and, as sure as death, we shall all rise again. And, 3. This very order is effective of the thing itself. That Christ is first risen, is the demonstration and certainty of ours; for because there is an order in this economy, the first in the kind is the measure of the rest. If Christ be the first fruits, we are the whole vintage; and we shall all die in the order of nature, and shall rise again in the order of Christ: "they that are Christ's," and are found so "at His coming," shall partake of His resurrection. But Christ first, then they that are Christ's: that is the order.

[Rev. i. 8. 11.] [Heb. xiii. 8.]

I. Christ is the first fruits; He is already risen from the dead: for He alone 'could not be held by death.' "Free among the dead."

[Acts ii. 24.] [Ps. lxxviii. 5.]

Synes. Hym. 9. Petavii, p. 347.

" Φρίξέν σε γέρων τότε
" Αΐδας ὁ παλαιγενὴς
" Καὶ λαοβόρος κύων
" Ἀνεχάσσατο βηλοῦ."

Death was sin's eldest daughter, and the grave clothes were her first mantle; but Christ was Conqueror over both,

and came to take that away, and to disarm this. This was a glory fit for the Head of mankind, but it was too great and too good to be easily believed by incredulous and weak-hearted man. It was at first doubted by all that were concerned; but they that saw it, had no reason to doubt any longer. But what is that to us, who saw it not? Yes, very much: "*Valde dubitatum est ab illis, ne dubitaretur a nobis,*" saith St. Austin; "They doubted very much, that, by their confirmation, we might be established, and doubt no more." Mary Magdalene saw Him first, and she ran with joy, and said "She had seen the Lord," and that He was risen from the dead; but they "believed her not;"—after that, divers women together saw Him, and they told it, but had no thanks for their pains, and obtained no credit among the disciples: the two disciples that went to Emmaus, saw Him, talked with Him, ate with Him, and they ran and told it: they told true, but nobody believed them: then St. Peter saw Him, but he was not yet got into the chair of the Catholic Church, they did not think him infallible, and so they believed him not at all. Five times in one day He appeared; for after all this, He appeared to the eleven; they were indeed transported with joy and wonder; but they would scarce believe their own eyes, and though they saw Him, they doubted. Well, all this was not enough; He was seen also of James, and suffered Thomas to thrust his hand into His side, and appeared to St. Paul, and was seen by "five hundred brethren at once." So that there is no capacity of mankind, no time, no place, but had an ocular demonstration of His resurrection. He appeared to men and women, to the clergy and the laity, to sinners of both sexes; to weak men and to criminals, to doubters and deniers at home and abroad, in public and in private, in their houses and their journeys, unexpected and by appointment, betimes in the morning and late at night, to them in conjunction and to them in dispersion, when they did look for Him and when they did not; He appeared upon earth to many, and to St. Paul and St. Stephen from Heaven: so that we can require no greater testimony than all these are able to give us; and they saw for themselves and for us too, that the faith and certainty of the resurrection of Jesus might be

[Mark xvi. 9—11. John xx. 18.]

[Matt. xxviii. 9. Luke xxiv. 11.]

[Luke xxiv. 13, &c.]

[Luke xxiv. 34. 1 Cor. xv. 5.]

[Luke xxiv. 36, &c.]

[1 Cor xv. 7.]

[John xx. 27.]

[Acts ix. 3—6.]

[1 Cor. xv. 6.]

[Acts vii. 55. ix. 3.]

conveyed to all that shall die, and follow Christ in their own order.

Now this being matter of fact, cannot be supposed infinite, but limited to time and place, and, therefore, to be proved by them who, at that time, were upon the place; good men and true, simple, and yet losers by the bargain, many and united, confident and constant, preaching it all their life, and stoutly maintaining it at their death; men that would not deceive others, and men that could not be deceived themselves, in a matter so notorious, and so proved, and so seen: and if this be not sufficient credibility in a matter of fact, as this was, then we can have no story credibly transmitted to us, no records kept, no acts of courts, no narratives of the days of old, no traditions of our fathers, no memorials of them in the third generation. Nay, if from these we have not sufficient causes and arguments of faith, how shall we be able to know the will of Heaven upon earth? unless God do not only tell it once, but always, and not only always to some men, but always to all men: for if some men must believe others, they can never do it in any thing more reasonably than in this; and if we may not trust them in this, then, without a perpetual miracle, no man could have faith: for faith could never come by hearing, by nothing but by seeing. But if there be any use of history, any faith in men, any honesty in manners, any truth in human intercourse; if there be any use of apostles or teachers, of ambassadors or letters, of ears or hearing; if there be any such thing as the grace of faith, that is less than demonstration or intuition; then we may be as sure that Christ, the first fruits, is already risen, as all these credibilities can make us. But let us take heed; as God hates a lie, so He hates incredulity; an obstinate, a foolish, and pertinacious understanding. What we do every minute of our lives, in matters of title and great concernment, if we refuse to do it in religion, which yet is to be conducted, as all human affairs are, by human instruments, and arguments of persuasion proper to the nature of the thing, it is an obstinacy as cross to human reason, as it is to Divine faith.

But this article was so clearly proved, that presently it came to pass that men were no longer ashamed of the cross,

but it was worn upon breasts, printed in the air, drawn upon foreheads, carried upon banners, put upon crowns imperial; presently it came to pass that the religion of the despised Jesus did infinitely prevail; a religion that taught men to be meek and humble, apt to receive injuries, but unapt to do any; a religion that gave countenance to the poor and pitiful, in a time when riches were adored, and ambition and pleasure had possessed the heart of all mankind; a religion that would change the face of things, and the hearts of men, and break vile habits into gentleness and counsel; that such a religion, in such a time, by the sermons and conduct of fishermen, men of mean breeding and illiberal arts, should so speedily triumph over the philosophy of the world, and the arguments of the subtle, and the sermons of the eloquent; the power of princes and the interests of states, the inclinations of nature and the blindness of zeal, the force of custom and the solicitation of passions, the pleasures of sin and the busy arts of the devil; that is, against wit and power, superstition and wilfulness, fame and money, nature and empire, which are all the causes in this world that can make a thing impossible; this, this is to be ascribed to the power of God, and is the great demonstration of the resurrection of Jesus. Every thing was an argument for it, and improved it; no objection could hinder it, no enemies destroy it; whatsoever was for them, it made the religion to increase; whatsoever was against them, made it to increase; sunshine and storms, fair weather or foul, it was all one as to the event of things: for they were instruments in the hands of God, who could make what Himself should choose to be the product of any cause; so that if the Christians had peace, they went abroad and brought in converts: if they had no peace but persecution, the converts came in to them. In prosperity, they allured and enticed the world by the beauty of holiness; in affliction and trouble, they amazed all men with the splendour of their innocence, and the glories of their patience; and quickly it was that the world became disciple to the glorious Nazarene, and men could no longer doubt of the resurrection of Jesus, when it became so demonstrated by the certainty of them that saw it, and the courage of them that died for it, and the multitude of them that believed it; who, by their

sermons and their actions, by their public offices and discourses, by festivals and eucharists, by arguments of experience and sense, by reason and religion, by persuading rational men, and establishing believing Christians, by their living in the obedience of Jesus, and dying for the testimony of Jesus, have greatly advanced His kingdom, and His power, and His glory, into which He entered after His resurrection from the dead. For He is the First Fruits; and if we hope to rise through Him, we must confess that Himself is first risen from the dead. That is the first particular.

2. There is an order for us also: we also shall rise again:

> "Combustusque senex tumulo procedit adultus;
> "Consumens dat membra rogus;———"

The ashes of old Camillus shall stand up spritely from his urn; and the funeral fires shall produce a new warmth to the dead bones of all those, who died under the arms of all the enemies of the Roman greatness. This is a less wonder than the former; for "*admonetur omnis ætas jam fieri posse quod aliquando factum est.*" If it was done once, it may be done again: for since it could never have been done but by a Power that is infinite, that infinite must also be eternal and indeficient. By the same almighty Power, which restored life to the dead Body of our living Lord, we may all be restored to a new life in the resurrection of the dead.

When man was not, what power, what causes made him to be? Whatsoever it was, it did then as great a work as to raise his body to the same being again; and because we know not the method of nature's secret changes, and how we can be fashioned beneath '*in secreto terræ,*' and cannot handle and discern the possibilities and seminal powers in the ashes of dissolved bones, must our ignorance in philosophy be put in balance against the articles of religion, the hopes of mankind, the faith of nations, and the truth of God? And are our opinions of the power of God so low, that our understanding must be His measure; and He shall be confessed to do nothing, unless it be made plain in our philosophy? Certainly we have a low opinion of God, unless we believe He can do more things than we can under-

[Ps. cxxxix. 15.]

stand: but let us hear St. Paul's demonstration; if the corn dies and lives again; if it lays its body down, suffers alteration, dissolution, and death,—but, at the spring, rises again in the verdure of a leaf, in the fulness of the ear, in the kidneys of wheat; if it proceeds from little to great, from nakedness to ornament, from emptiness to plenty, from unity to multitude, from death to life: be a Sadducee no more, shame not thy understanding, and reproach not the weakness of thy faith, by thinking that corn can be restored to life, and man cannot; especially since, in every creature, the obediential capacity is infinite, and cannot admit degrees; for every creature can be any thing under the power of God, which cannot be less than infinite. [1 Cor. xv. 36, &c.]

But we find no obscure footsteps of this mystery even amongst the heathens: Pliny reports that Apion, the grammarian, by the use of the plant osiris, called Homer from his grave; and in Valerius Maximus we find that Œlius Tubero returned to life, when he was seated in his funeral pile; and in Plutarch, that Soleus, after three days' burial, did live; and in Valerius, that Eris Pamphylius did so after ten days. And it was so commonly believed, that Glaucus, who was choked in a vessel of honey, did rise again, that it grew to a proverb: "*Glaucus, poto melle, surrexit;*" "Glaucus, having tasted honey, died and lived again." I pretend not to believe these stories to be true; but from these instances it may be concluded, that they believed it possible that there should be a resurrection from the dead; and natural reason, and their philosophy, did not wholly destroy their hopes and expectation to have a portion in this article. [Nat. Hist. xxx. 6.] [Plin., Nat. Hist., vii. 52.] Lib. i. c. 8. Helfrecht, p. 71.

For God, knowing that the great hopes of man, that the biggest endearment of religion, the sanction of private justice, the band of piety and holy courage,—does wholly derive from the article of the resurrection,—was pleased not only to make it credible, but easy and familiar to us; and we so converse every night with the image of death, that every morning we find an argument of the resurrection. Sleep and death have but one mother, and they have one name in common.

"Soles occidere et redire possunt; Catull. v.
"Nobis cum semel occidit brevis lux,
"Nox est perpetua una dormienda."

Charnel houses are but *κοιμητήρια*, 'cemeteries' or sleeping places; and they that die, are fallen asleep, and the resurrection is but an awakening and standing up from sleep: but in sleep our senses are as fast bound by nature, as our joints are by the grave-clothes; and unless an angel of God waken us every morning, we must confess ourselves as unable to converse with men, as we now are afraid to die and to converse with spirits. But, however, death itself is no more; it is but darkness and a shadow, a rest and a forgetfulness. What is there more in death? What is there less in sleep? For do we not see by experience that nothing of equal loudness does awaken us sooner than a man's voice, especially if he be called by name? And thus also it shall be in the resurrection: we shall be awakened by the voice of a man, and He that called Lazarus by name from his grave, shall also call us: for although St. Paul affirms, "that the trumpet shall sound," and there shall be "the voice of an archangel;" yet this is not a word of nature, but of office and ministry: Christ Himself is that archangel, and He shall "descend with a mighty shout," saith the Apostle; "and all that are in the grave shall hear His voice," saith St. John: so that we shall be awakened by the voice of man, because we are only fallen asleep by the decree of God; and when the cock and the lark call us up to prayer and labour, the first thing we see is an argument of our resurrection from the dead. And when we consider what the Greek Church reports,—that amongst them the bodies of those that die excommunicate, will not return to dust till the censure be taken off,—we may, with a little faith and reason, believe, that the same power that keeps them from their natural dissolution, can recall them to life and union. I will not now insist upon the story of the rising bones seen every year in Egypt, nor the pretences of the chemists, that they, from the ashes of flowers, can reproduce, from the same materials, the same beauties in colour and figure; for he that proves a certain truth from an uncertain argument, is like him that wears a wooden leg, when he hath two sound legs already; it hinders his going, but helps him not: the truth of God stands not in need of such supporters; nature alone is a sufficient preacher:

[1 Cor. xv. 52.]
[1 Thess. iv. 16.]
1 Thess. iv. 16.
John v. 28.

" Quæ nunc herba fuit, lignum jacet, herba futura,
" Aeriæ nudantur aves cum penna vetusta,
" Et nova subvestit reparatas pluma volucres."

Dracontius de Opere Dei.

Night and day; the sun returning to the same point of east; every change of species in the same matter; generation and corruption; the eagle renewing her youth, and the snake her skin; the silk-worm and the swallows; the care of posterity, and the care of an immortal name; winter and summer; the fall and spring; the Old Testament and the New; the words of Job; and the visions of the prophets; the prayer of Ezekiel for the resurrection of the men of Ephraim; and the return of Jonas from the whale's belly; the histories of the Jews and the narratives of Christians; the faith of believers and the philosophy of the reasonable;—all join in the verification of this mystery. And amongst these heaps, it is not of the least consideration, that there was never any good man, who having been taught this article, but if he served God, he also relied upon this. If he believed God, he believed this; and therefore St. Paul says, that they who were "ἐλπίδα μὴ ἐχοντες," were also "ἄθεοι ἐν κόσμῳ," 'they who had no hope' (meaning of the resurrection) 'were also atheists, and without God in the world.'—And it is remarkable what St. Austin observes, that when the world saw the righteous Abel destroyed, and that the murderer outlived his crime, and built up a numerous family, and grew mighty upon earth,—they neglected the service of God upon that account, till God, in pity of their prejudice and foolish arguings, took Enoch up to Heaven to recover them from their impieties, by shewing them that their bodies and souls should be rewarded for ever in an eternal union. But Christ, the first fruits, is gone before, and Himself did promise, that when Himself was lifted up, He would draw all men after Him: "Every man in his own order: first Christ, then they that are Christ's at His coming."—And so I have done with the second particular; not Christ only, but we also shall rise in God's time and our order.

[Job xix. 26, 27.] [Ezek. xxxvii.]

[Ephes. ii. 12.]

But concerning this order I must speak a word or two, not only for the fuller handling the text, but because it will be matter of application of what hath been already spoken of the article of the resurrection.

3. First Christ, and then we: and we, therefore, because Christ is already risen: but you must remember, that the resurrection and exaltation of Christ was the reward of His perfect obedience and purest holiness; and He calling us to an imitation of the same obedience, and the same perfect holiness, prepares a way for us to the same resurrection. If we, by holiness, become the sons of God, as Christ was, we shall also, as He was, become the sons of God in the resurrection: but upon no other terms. So said our blessed Lord Himself: Matt. xix. 28. "Ye which have followed Me in the regeneration, when the Son of Man shall sit on the throne of His glory, ye also shall sit upon thrones judging the tribes of Israel." For as it was with Christ the First Fruits, so it shall be with all Christians in their own order: as with the Head, so it shall be with the members. He was the Son of God by love and obedience, and then became the Son of God by resurrection from the dead to life eternal, and so shall we; but we cannot be so in any other way. To them that are Christ's, and to none else shall this be given: for we must know that God hath sent Christ into the world to be a great example and demonstration of the economy and dispensation of eternal life. As God brought Christ to glory, so He will bring us, but by no other method. He first obeyed the will of God, and patiently suffered the will of God; He died and rose again, and entered into glory; and so must we. Thus Christ is made "Via, Veritas, et Vita," "the Way, the Truth, and the Life;" that is, the true way to eternal life: He first trod this wine-press, and we must insist in the same steps, or we shall never partake of this blessed resurrection. He was made the Son of God in a most glorious manner, and we by Him, by His merit, and by His grace, and by His example; but other than this there is no way of salvation for us: that is the first and great effect of this glorious order.

4. But there is one thing more in it yet: "Every man in his own order; first Christ, and then they that are Christ's:" but what shall become of them that are not Christ's? Why there is an order for them too: first, "they that are Christ's; and then they that are not His:" "Blessed and holy is he Rev. xx. 6. that hath his part in the first resurrection:" there is a first and a second resurrection even after this life; "The dead in

Christ shall rise first:" now blessed are they that have their portion here; "for upon these the second death shall have no power." As for the recalling the wicked from their graves, it is no otherwise in the sense of the Spirit to be called a resurrection, than taking a criminal from the prison to the bar, is a giving of liberty. When poor Acilius Aviola had been seized on by an apoplexy, his friends, supposing him dead, carried him to his funeral pile; but when the fire began to approach, and the heat to warm the body, he revived, and seeing himself encircled with funeral flames, called out aloud to his friends to rescue, not the dead, but the living Aviola from that horrid burning: but it could not be, he only was restored from his sickness to fall into death, and from his dull disease to a sharp and intolerable torment. Just so shall the wicked live again; they shall receive their souls, that they may be a portion for devils; they shall receive their bodies, that they may feel the everlasting burning; they shall see Christ, that they may 'look on Him whom they have pierced;' and they shall hear the voice of God passing upon them the intolerable sentence; they shall come from their graves, that they may go into hell; and live again, that they may die for ever. So have we seen a poor condemned criminal, the weight of whose sorrows sitting heavily upon his soul hath benumbed him into a deep sleep, till he hath forgotten his groans, and laid aside his deep sighings; but, on a sudden, comes the messenger of death, and unbinds the poppy garland, scatters the heavy cloud that encircled his miserable head, and makes him return to acts of life, that he may quickly descend into death and be no more. So is every sinner that lies down in shame, and 'makes his grave with the wicked'; he shall indeed rise again, and be called upon by the voice of the archangel; but then he shall descend into sorrows greater than the reason and the patience of a man, weeping and shrieking louder than the groans of the miserable children in the valley of Hinnom.

1 Thess. iv. 16.

Plin. vii. 53. [Valer. Max. i. 8. 12.]

[Zech. xii. 10.]

[Isai. liii. 9.]

These, indeed, are sad stories, but true as the voice of God, and the sermons of the Holy Jesus. They are God's words, and God's decrees; and I wish that all who profess the belief of these, would consider sadly what they mean. If

ye believe the article of the resurrection, then you know, that, in your body, you shall receive what you did in the body, whether it be good or bad. It matters not now very much, whether our bodies be beauteous or deformed; for if we glorify God in our bodies, God shall make our bodies glorious. It matters not much whether we live in case and pleasure, or eat nothing but bitter herbs; the body that lies in dust and ashes, that goes stooping and feeble, that lodges at the foot of the cross, and dwells in discipline, shall be feasted at the eternal supper of the Lamb. And ever remember this, that beastly pleasures, and lying lips, and a deceitful tongue, and a heart that sendeth forth proud things, are no good dispositions to a blessed resurrection.

"Οὐ καλὸν ἁρμονίην ἀναλυέμεν ἀνθρώποιο·"

'It is not for good, that in the body we live a life of dissolution, for that is no good harmony with that purpose of glory which God designs the body;'

"Καὶ τάχα δ' ἐκ γαίης ἐλπίζομεν ἐς φάος ἐλθεῖν
"Λείψαν' ἀποιχομένων· ὀπίσω δὲ θεοὶ τελέθονται,"

[Νουθετ. Πάσημα, vv. 97-99.] Gaisford, p. 452.

said Phocylides; "for we hope that from our beds of darkness we shall rise into regions of light, and shall become like unto God:" they shall partake of a resurrection to life; and what this can infer is very obvious: for if it be so hard to believe a resurrection from one death, let us not be dead in trespasses and sins; for a resurrection from two deaths will be harder to be believed, and harder to be effected. But if any of you have lost the life of grace, and so forfeited all your title to a life of glory, betake yourselves to an early and an entire piety, that when, by this first resurrection, you have made this way plain before your face, you may with confidence expect a happy resurrection from your graves: for if it be possible that the spirit, when it is dead in sin, can arise to a life of righteousness; much more it is easy to suppose that the body, after death, is capable of being restored again: and this is a consequent of St. Paul's argument:

Rom v. 10. "If, when ye were enemies, ye were reconciled by His death, much more, being reconciled, we shall be saved by His life;" plainly declaring, that it is a harder and more wonderful

thing for a wicked man to become the friend of God, than for one that is so, to be carried up to Heaven and partake of His glory. The first resurrection is certainly the greater miracle: but he that hath risen once, may rise again; and this is as sure as that he that dies once, may die again, and die for ever. But he who partakes of the death of Christ by mortification, and of His resurrection by holiness of life and a holy faith, shall, according to the expression of the Prophet Isaiah, "Enter into his chamber of death;" when nature and God's decree "shall shut the doors upon him," and there he shall be hidden for a little moment: but then shall they that dwell in dust, awake and sing, with Christ's dead Body shall they arise; all shall rise, but "every man in his own order; Christ, the first fruits, then they that are Christ's at His coming." Amen. Isai. xxvi. 20.

I have now done with my meditation of the resurrection; but we have had a new and a sadder subject to consider. It is glorious and brave when a Christian contemplates those glories, which stand at the foot of the account of all God's servants; but when we consider, that before all, or any thing of this happens, every Christian must twice 'exuere hominem,' 'put off the old man,' and then lie down in dust, and the dishonours of the grave; it is 'vinum myrrhatum,' there is 'myrrh put into our wine:' it is wholesome, but it will allay all our pleasures of that glorious expectation: but no man can escape it. After that the great Cyrus had ruled long in a mighty empire, yet there came a message from Heaven, not so sad it may be, yet as decretory as the handwriting on the wall that arrested his successor Darius, "Συσκευάζου, ὦ Κῦρε· ἤδη γὰρ εἰς θεοὺς ἄπει," "Prepare thyself, O Cyrus, and then go unto the gods;" he laid aside his tire and his beauteous diadem, and covered his face with a cloth, and in a single linen laid his honoured head in a poor humble grave; and none of us all can avoid this sentence: for if wit and learning, great fame and great experience; if wise notices of things, and an honourable fortune; if courage and skill, if prelacy and an honourable age, if any thing that could give greatness and immunity to a wise and prudent man, could have been put in a bar against a sad day, and have gone for good plea, this sad scene of sorrows had not [Ephes. iv. 22. Col. iii. 9.] Cyrop. viii. 7. 2. Schneider.

been the entertainment of this assembly. But tell me, Where are those great masters, who while they lived, flourished in their studies? "*Jam eorum præbendas alii possident, et nescio utrum de iis cogitant;*" "other men have got their prebends and their dignities, and who knows whether ever they remember them or no?" While they lived, they seemed nothing; when they are dead, every man for awhile speaks of them what they please; and afterwards they are as if they had not been. But the piety of the Christian Church hath made some little provision towards an artificial immortality for brave and worthy persons; and the friendships which our dead contracted while they were alive, require us to continue a fair memory as long as we can; but they expire in monthly minds, or at most in a faint and declining anniversary;

"——————— ἐπεὶ φίλος, ὅστις ἑταίρου
"Μέμνηται κταμένοιο καὶ ἄχνυται οὐτ' ἔτ' ἐόντος."

And we have great reason so to do in this present sad accident of the death of our late most reverend Primate, whose death the Church of Ireland hath very great reason to deplore; and we have great obligation to remember his very many worthy deeds, done for this poor afflicted and despised Church. St. Paul made an excellent funeral oration, as it were instituting a feast of all saints, who all died "having obtained a good report:" and that excellent preacher made a sermon of their commemoration. For since good men, while they are alive, have their conversation in Heaven; when they are in Heaven, it is also fit that they should, in their good names, live upon earth. And as their great examples are an excellent sermon to the living, and the praising them, when envy and flattery can have no interest to interpose, as it is the best and most vigorous sermon and incentive to great things; so to conceal what good God hath wrought by them is great unthankfulness to God and to good men.

Hebrews, xi. 39.

When Dorcas died, the Apostle came to see the dead corpse, and the friends of the deceased expressed their grief and their love, by shewing the coats that she, whilst she lived, wrought with her own hands: she was a good needle-

woman and a good house-wife, and did good to mankind in her little way, and that itself ought not to be forgotten; and the Apostle himself was not displeased with their little sermons, and that εὐφημισμος which the women made upon that sad interview. But if we may have the same liberty to record the worthy things of this our most venerable father and brother, and if there remains no more of that envy which usually obscures the splendour of living heroes; if you can with your charitable, though weeping eyes, behold the great gifts of God with which He adorned this great prelate, and not object the failings of humanity to the participation of the graces of the Spirit, or think that God's gifts are the less because they are born in earthen vessels, "πάντες γὰρ κλυτὰ δῶρα κερασσάμενοι φορέουσιν," for all men bear mortality about them, and the cabinet is not so beauteous as the diamond that shines within its bosom; then we may, without interruption, pay this duty to piety, and friendship, and thankfulness; and deplore our sad loss by telling a true and sad story of this great man, whom God hath lately taken from our eyes.

He was bred in Cambridge, in Sidney College, under Mr. Hulet, a grave and worthy man; and he shewed himself not only a fruitful plant by his great progress in his studies, but made him another return of gratitude, taking care to provide a good employment for him in Ireland, where he then began to be greatly interested. It was spoken as an honour to Augustus Cæsar, that he gave his tutor an honourable funeral; and Marcus Antoninus erected a statue unto his; and Gratian the emperor made his master Ausonius to be consul: and our worthy primate, knowing the obligation which they pass upon us, who do '*obstetricare gravidæ animæ*,' 'help the parturient soul' to bring forth fruits according to its seminal powers, was careful not only to reward the industry of such persons, so useful to the Church in the cultivating '*infantes palmarum*,' 'young plants,' whose joints are to be stretched and made straight; but to demonstrate that his scholar knew how to value learning, when he knew so well how to reward the teacher.

[Capitolinus, in Vitâ.] [Auson. ad Gratian., Gratiar. Act.]

Having passed the course of his studies in the University, and done his exercise with that applause which is usually the

reward of pregnant wit and hard study, he was removed into Yorkshire, where first, in the city of York, he was an assiduous preacher; but, by the disposition of the Divine Providence, he happened to be engaged at Northallerton in disputation with three pragmatical Romish priests of the Jesuits' order, whom he so much worsted in the conference, and so shamefully disadvantaged by the evidence of truth, represented wisely and learnedly, that the famous primate of York, Archbishop Matthews, a learned and an excellent prelate, and a most worthy preacher, hearing of that triumph, sent for him, and made him his chaplain; in whose service he continued till the death of the primate, but, in that time had given so much testimony of his dexterity in the conduct of ecclesiastical and civil affairs, that he grew dear to his master. In that employment he was made prebendary of York, and then of Rippon, the dean of which church having made him his sub-dean, he managed the affairs of that Church so well, that he soon acquired a greater fame, and entered into the possession of many hearts, and admiration to those many more that knew him. There and at his parsonage he continued long to do the duty of a learned and good preacher, and by his wisdom, eloquence, and deportment, so gained the affections of the nobility, gentry, and commons of that country, that at his return thither upon the blessed restoration of his most sacred majesty, he knew himself obliged enough, and was so kind as to give them a visit; so they, by their coming in great numbers to meet him, their joyful reception of him, their great caressing of him when he was there, their forward hopes to enjoy him as their Bishop, their trouble at his departure, their unwillingness to let him go away, gave signal testimonies that they were wise and kind enough to understand and value his great worth.

[Bramhall's antagonists were two in number, not three: see his own account of the controversy as quoted in his life, above, note C.]

But while he lived there, he was like a diamond in the dust, or Lucius Quinctius at the plough; his low fortune covered a most valuable person, till he became observed by Sir Thomas Wentworth, Lord President of York, whom we all knew for his great excellencies, and his great but glorious misfortunes. This rare person espied the great abilities of Doctor Bramhall, and made him his chaplain, and brought

him into Ireland, as one who, he believed, would prove the most fit instrument to serve in that design, which, for two years before his arrival here, he had greatly meditated and resolved, the reformation of religion, and the reparation of the broken fortunes of the Church. The complaints were many, the abuses great, the causes of the Church vastly numerous; but as fast as they were brought in, so fast they were by the Lord Deputy referred back to Dr. Bramhall, who by his indefatigable pains, great sagacity, perpetual watchfulness, daily and hourly consultations, reduced things to a more tolerable condition, than they had been left in by the schismatical principles of some, and the unjust prepossessions of others, for many years before: for at the reformation, the popish bishops and priests seemed to conform, and did so, that keeping their bishopricks they might enrich their kindred and dilapidate the revenues of the Church, which by pretended offices, false informations, fee-farms at contemptible rents, and ungodly alienations, were made low as poverty itself, and unfit to minister to the needs of them that served the altar, or the noblest purposes of religion: for hospitality decayed, and the bishops were easy to be oppressed by those that would; and they complained, but for a long time had no helper, till God raised up that glorious instrument the Earl of Strafford, who brought over with him as great affections to the Church and to all public interests, and as admirable abilities, as ever before his time did invest and adorn any of the king's vicegerents; and God fitted his hand with an instrument good as his skill was great: for the first specimen of his abilities and diligence in the recovery of some lost tithes, being represented to his late majesty, of blessed and glorious memory, it pleased his majesty, upon the death of Bishop Downham, to advance the doctor to the bishoprick of Derry, which he not only adorned with an excellent spirit and a wise government, but did more than double the revenue, not by taking any thing from them to whom it was due, but by resuming something of the Church's patrimony, which by undue means was detained in unfitting hands.

But his care was beyond his diocese, and his zeal broke out to warm all his brethren; and, though by reason of the

favour and piety of King James, the escheated counties were well provided for their tithes, yet the bishoprieks were not so well, till the primate, then bishop of Derry, by the favour of the Lord Lieutenant and his own incessant and assiduous labour and wise conduct, brought in divers impropriations, cancelled many unjust alienations, and did restore them to a condition much more tolerable; I say much more tolerable; for though he raised them above contempt, yet they were not near to envy; but he knew there could not in all times be wanting too many, that envied to the Church every degree of prosperity: so Judas did to Christ the expense of ointment; and so Dionysius told the priest, when himself stole the golden cloak from Apollo, and gave him one of the Arcadian home-spun, that it was warmer for him in winter and cooler in summer. And, for ever, since the Church, by God's blessing and the favour of religious kings and princes, and pious nobility, hath been endowed with fair revenues, '*inimicus homo*,' 'the enemy' hath not been wanting, by pretences of religion, to take away God's portion from the Church, as if His word were intended as an instrument to rob His houses. But when the Israelites were governed by a *θεοκρατία*, and 'God was their king,' and Moses His lieutenant, and things were of His management, —He was pleased, by making great provisions for them that ministered in the service of the tabernacle, to consign this truth for ever;—that men, as they love God, at the same rate are to make provisions for His priests. For when Himself did it, He not only gave the forty-eight cities, with a mile of glebe round about their city every way, and yet the whole country was but an hundred and forty miles long, or thereabouts, from Dan to Beersheba; but beside this they had the tithe of all increase, the first fruits, offerings, vows, redemptions, and in short, they had twenty-four sorts of dues, as Buxtorf relates; and all this either brought to the barn home to them without trouble, or else, as the nature of the thing required, brought to the temple; the first to make it more profitable, and the second to declare that they received it not from the people but from God, not the people's kindness but the Lord's inheritance: insomuch that this small tribe of Levi, which was not the fortieth part of

[Matt. xiv. 28.]

the people, as the Scripture computes them, had a revenue almost treble to any of the largest of the tribes. I will not insist on what Villalpandus observes, it may easily be read in the xlvth. of Ezekiel, concerning that portion which God reserves for Himself and His service; but whatsoever it be, this shall I say, that is confessedly a prophecy of the Gospel; but this I add, that they had as little to do, and much less than a Christian priest; and yet in all the twenty-four courses the poorest priest among them might be esteemed a rich man. I speak not this to upbraid any man, or any thing but sacrilege and murmur, nor to any other end but to represent upon what great and religious grounds the then Bishop of Derry did, with so much care and assiduous labour, endeavour to restore the Church of Ireland to that splendour and fulness; which as it is much conducing to the honour of God and of religion, God Himself being the judge, so it is much more necessary for you than it is for us; and so this wise prelate rarely well understood it; and having the same advantage and blessing as we now have, a gracious king, and a lieutenant, patron of religion and the Church, he improved the '*deposita pietatis*,' as Origen calls them, the 'gages of piety,' which the religion of the ancient princes and nobles of this kingdom had bountifully given to such a comfortable competency, that though there be place left for present and future piety to large itself, yet no man hath reason to be discouraged in his duty; insomuch that as I have heard from a most worthy hand, that at his going into England he gave account to the Archbishop of Canterbury of 30,000*£*. a year, in the recovery of which he was greatly and principally instrumental. But the goods of this world are called "waters" by Solomon: "stolen waters are sweet," and they are too unstable to be stopped: some of these waters did run back from their proper channel, and return to another course than God and the laws intended; yet his labours and pious counsels were not the less acceptable to God and good men, and therefore by a thankful and honourable recognition, the convocation of the Church of Ireland has transmitted in record to posterity their deep resentment of his singular services and great abilities in this whole affair. And this honour will for ever remain to that Bishop of Derry; he had a Zerubbabel

Numb. i. 46; iii. 39. Seld. Hist. Tithes. c. 2.

See Philo, περὶ τοῦ τινὰ γέρα ἱερέων.

Tract. 25. in St. Matthew.

[Prov. ix. 17.]

who repaired the temple and restored its beauty; but he was the Joshua, the high priest, who under him ministered this blessing to the congregations of the Lord.

But his care was not determined in the exterior part only, and accessaries of religion; he was careful, and he was prosperous in it, to reduce that divine and excellent service of our Church to public and constant exercise, to unity and devotion; and to cause the articles of the Church of England to be accepted as the rule of public confessions and persuasions here, that they and we might be '*populus unius labii*,' 'of one heart and one lip,' building up our hopes of Heaven on a most holy faith; and taking away that Shibboleth which made this Church lisp too undecently, or rather, in some little degree, to speak the speech of Ashdod, and not the language of Canaan; and the excellent and wise pains he took in this particular no man can dehonestate or reproach, but he that is not willing to confess, that the Church of England is the best reformed Church in the world. But when the brave Roman infantry, under the conduct of Manlius, ascended up to the Capitol to defend religion and the altars from the fury of the Gauls, they all prayed to God, "*Ut quemadmodum ipsi ad defendendum templum Ejus concurrissent, ita Ille virtutem eorum numine Suo tueretur:*" "That as they came to defend His temple by their arms, so He would defend their persons and that cause with His power and divinity." And this excellent man in the cause of religion found the like blessing which they prayed for; God, by the prosperity of his labours and a blessed effect, gave testimony not only of the piety and wisdom of his purposes, but that He loves to bless a wise instrument, when it is vigorously employed in a wise and religious labour. He overcame the difficulty in defiance of all such pretences, as were made even from religion itself, to obstruct the better procedure of real and material religion.

[Gen. xi. 1.]

[Florus, i. 13.]

These were great things and matter of great envy, and like the fiery eruptions of Vesuvius, might, with the very ashes of consumption, have buried another man. At first indeed, as his blessed Master, the most holy Jesus, had, so he also had his '*annum acceptabilem*.' At first the product was nothing but great admiration at his stupendous parts,

[Isa. lxi. 2. Luke iv. 19.]

and wonder at his mighty diligence and observation of his unusual zeal in so good and great things; but this quickly passed into the natural daughters of envy, suspicion, and detraction, the spirit of obloquy and slander. His zeal for the recovery of the Church-revenues was called oppression and rapine, covetousness and injustice; his care of reducing religion to wise and justifiable principles was called Popery and Arminianism, and I know not what names, which signify what the authors are pleased to mean, and the people to construe and to hate. The intermedial prosperity of his person and fortune, which he had as an earnest of a greater reward to so well-meant labours, was supposed to be the production of illiberal arts and ways of getting; and the necessary refreshment of his wearied spirits, which did not always supply all his needs, and were sometimes less than the permissions even of prudent charity, they called intemperance: "*Dederunt enim malum Metelli Nævio poetæ;*" their own surmises were the bills of accusation; and the splendour of his great *ἀγαθοεργία*, or 'doing of good works,' was the great probation of all their calamities. But if envy be the accuser, what can be the defences of innocence?

> "Saucior invidiæ morsu, quærenda medela est;
> "Dic quibus in terris sentiet æger opem?"

Our blessed Saviour, knowing the unsatisfiable angers of men if their money or estates were meddled with, refused to divide an inheritance amongst brethren: it was not to be imagined that this great person (invested, as all his brethren were, with the infirmities of mortality, and yet employed in dividing and recovering, and apportioning of lands) should be able to bear all that reproach, which jealousy and suspicion and malicious envy could invent against him. But "*ἀπ' ἐχθρῶν πολλὰ μανθάνουσιν οἱ σοφοὶ*," said Sophocles: and so did he; the affrightments brought to his great fame and reputation made him to walk more warily, and do justly, and act prudently, and conduct his affairs by the measure of laws, as far as he understood, and indeed that was a very great way: but there was '*aperta justitia, clausa manus,*' 'justice was open, but his hand was shut;' and, though every slanderer could tell a story, yet none could prove that ever he received 'a bribe to blind his eyes, to the value of a [Aristoph. Aves 375.]

pair of gloves:' it was his own expression, when he gave glory to God who had preserved him innocent. But, because every man's cause is righteous in his own eyes, it was hard for him so to acquit himself, that in the intrigues of law and difficult cases, some of his enemies should not seem (when they were heard alone) to speak reason against him. But see the greatness of truth and prudence, and how greatly God stood with him. When the numerous armies of vexed people,

Mart., De Spect., 4.

"Turba gravis paci, placidæque inimica quieti,"

heaped up catalogues of accusations, when the parliament of Ireland, imitating the violent procedures of the then disordered English, when his glorious patron was taken from his head, and he was disrobed of his great defences; when petitions were invited and accusations furnished, and calumny was rewarded and managed with art and power, when there were above two hundred petitions put in against him, and himself denied leave to answer by word of mouth; when he was long imprisoned, and treated so that a guilty man would have been broken into affrightment and pitiful and low considerations; yet then he himself, standing almost alone, like Callimachus at Marathon, invested with enemies and covered with arrows, defended himself beyond all the powers of guiltiness, even with the defences of truth and the bravery of innocence, and answered the petitions in writing, sometimes twenty in a day, with so much clearness, evidence of truth, reality of fact, and testimony of law, that his very enemies were ashamed and convinced; they found they had done like Æsop's viper, they licked the file till their tongues bled; but himself was wholly invulnerable. They were therefore forced to leave their muster-rolls and decline the particulars, and fall to their *ἓν μέγα*, to accuse him for going about to subvert the fundamental laws; the way by which great Strafford and Canterbury fell; which was a device, when all reasons failed, to oppress the enemy by the bold affirmation of a conclusion they could not prove: they did like those '*gladiatores*' whom the Romans called '*retiarii*,' when they could not stab their enemy with their daggers, they threw nets over him, and covered him with a general mischief. But the martyr, King Charles the First, of most glorious and eternal memory,

[Polemon. Laudat. Fun. H. c. 56, 57.]

seeing so great a champion likely to be oppressed with numbers and despair, sent what rescue he could, his royal letter for his bail, which was hardly granted to him; and when it was, it was upon such hard terms, that his very delivery was a persecution. So necessary it was for them, who intended to do mischief to the public, to take away the strongest pillars of the house. This thing I remark to acquit this great man from the tongue of slander, which had so boldly spoken, that it was certain something would stick; yet was so impotent and unarmed, that it could not kill that great fame, which his greater worthiness had procured him. It was said of Hippasus the Pythagorean, that being asked how and what he had done, he answered, "*Nondum nihil; neque enim adhuc mihi invidetur;*" "I have done nothing yet, for no man envies me." He that does great things, cannot avoid the tongues and teeth of envy; but if calumnies must pass for evidences, the bravest heroes must always be the most reproached persons in the world. [Cœl. Aurelian. i. 1.]

> "Nascitur Ætolicus, pravum ingeniosus ad omne;
> "Qui facere assuerat, patriæ non degener artis,
> "Candida de nigris, et de candentibus atra."

Every thing can have an ill name and an ill sense put upon it; but God, who takes care of reputations as He does of lives, by the orders of His Providence confutes the slander, '*ut memoria justorum sit in benedictionibus*,' 'that the memory of the righteous man might be embalmed with honour:' and so it happened to this great man; for by a public warranty, by the concurrent consent of both houses of parliament, the libellous petitions against him, the false records and public monuments of injurious shame, were cancelled, and he was restored, '*in integrum*,' to that fame where his great labours and just procedures had first estated him; which though it was but justice, yet it was also such honour, that it is greater than the virulence of tongues, which his worthiness and their envy had armed against him. [Prov. x. 7.]

But yet the great scene of the troubles was but newly opened. I shall not refuse to speak yet more of his troubles, as remembering that St. Paul, when he discourses of the glories of the saints departed, he tells more of their sufferings than of their prosperities, as being that laboratory and cruci-

ble, in which God makes His servants vessels of honour to His glory. The storm quickly grew high; '*et transitum est a linguis ad gladios;*' and that was indeed "*ἀδικία ἔχουσα ὅπλα,*" 'Iniquity had put on arms;' when it is '*armata nequitia,*' then a man is hard put to it. The rebellion breaking out, the Bishop went to his charge at Derry; and because he was within the defence of walls, the execrable traitor, Sir Phelim O'Neale, laid a snare to bring him to a dishonourable death; for he wrote a letter to the Bishop, pretended intelligence between them, desired that according to their former agreement such a gate might be delivered to him. The messenger was not advised to be cautious, nor at all instructed in the art of secrecy; for it was intended that he should be searched, intercepted, and hanged, for aught they cared: but the arrow was shot against the Bishop, that he might be accused for base conspiracy, and die with shame and sad dishonour. But here God manifested His mighty care of His servants; He was pleased to send into the heart of the messenger such an affrightment, that he directly ran away with the letter, and never durst come near the town to deliver it. This story was published by Sir Phelim himself, who added, that if he could have thus ensnared the Bishop, he had good assurance the town should have been his own: "*Sed bonitas Dei prævalitura est super omnem malitiam hominis;*" "The goodness of God is greater than all the malice of men;" and nothing could so prove how dear that sacred life was to God, as his rescue from the dangers. "*Stantia non poterant tecta probare Deos:*" 'To have kept him in a warm house had been nothing, unless the roof had fallen upon his head; that rescue was a remark of Divine favour and Providence.' But it seems Sir Phelim's treason against the life of this worthy man had a correspondent in the town; and it broke out speedily; for what they could not effect by malicious stratagem, they did in part by open force; they turned the Bishop out of the town, and upon trifling and unjust pretences searched his carriages, and took what they pleased, till they were ashamed to take more: they did worse than divorce him from his Church; for in all the Roman divorces they said, "*Tuas tibi res habeto,*" "Take your goods and begone;" but plunder was

[Aristot. Polit. i. 2]

Mart. I. 13. 12.

religion then. However, though the usage was sad, yet it was recompensed to him by his taking sanctuary in Oxford, where he was graciously received by that most incomparable and divine prince; but having served the king in Yorkshire, by his pen, and by his counsels, and by his interests, he returned back to Ireland, where, under the excellent conduct of his Grace the now Lord Lieutenant, he ran the risk and fortune of oppressed virtue.

But God having still resolved to afflict us, the good man was forced into the fortune of the patriarchs, to leave his country and his charges, and seek for safety and bread in a strange land; for so the prophets were used to do, wandering up and down in sheep's clothing; but poor as they were, the world was not worthy of them: and this worthy man, despising the shame, took up his cross and followed his Master.

> "Exilium causa ipsa jubet sibi dulce videri,
> "Et desiderium dulce levat patriæ."

He was not ashamed to suffer, where the cause was honourable and glorious; but so God provided for the needs of His banished, and sent a man who could minister comfort to the afflicted, and courage to the persecuted, and resolutions to the tempted, and strength to that religion for which they all suffered.

And here this great man was indeed triumphant; this was one of the last and best scenes of his life: "*ἡμέραι γὰρ ἐπίλογοι μάρτυρες σοφώτατοι*," "The last days are the best witnesses of a man." [Pindar. Ol. i. 53, 54.] But so it was, that he stood up in public and brave defence for the doctrine and discipline of the Church of England; first, by his sufferings and great example; for, "*Verbis tantùm philosophari, non est doctoris, sed histrionis*;" "To talk well and not to do bravely, is for a comedian, not a divine:" but this great man did both; he suffered his own calamity with great courage, and by his wise discourses, strengthened the heart of others.

For there wanted no diligent tempters in the Church of Rome, who taking advantage of the afflictions of his sacred Majesty, in which state men commonly suspect every thing, and like men in sickness are willing to change from side to side, hoping for ease and finding none, flew at royal game,

and hoped to draw away the king from that religion which his most royal father, the best man and the wisest prince in the world, had sealed with the best blood in Christendom, and which himself sucked in with his education, and had confirmed by choice and reason, and confessed publicly and bravely, and hath since restored prosperously. Milletière was the man, witty and bold enough to attempt a zealous and foolish undertaking, who addressed himself with ignoble, indeed, but witty arts, to persuade the king to leave what was dearer to him than his eyes. It is true, it was a wave dashed against a rock, and an arrow shot against the sun, it could not reach him; but the Bishop of Derry turned it also, and made it fall upon the shooter's head; for he made so ingenious, so learned, and so acute reply to that book; he so discovered the errors of the Roman Church, retorted the arguments, stated the questions, demonstrated the truth, and shamed their procedures, that nothing could be a greater argument of the Bishop's learning, great parts, deep judgment, quickness of apprehension, and sincerity in the catholic and apostolic Faith; or of the follies and prevarications of the Church of Rome. He wrote no apologies for himself, though it were much to be wished that, as Junius wrote his own life, or Moses his own story, so we might have understood from himself how great things God had done for him and by him: but all that he permitted to God, and was silent in his own defences; "*Gloriosius enim est injuriam tacendo fugere, quàm respondendo superare:*" but when the honour and conscience of his king, and the interest of a true religion was at stake, "the fire burned within him, and at last he spake with his tongue;" he cried out like the son of Crœsus, "*Ὦνθρωπε, μὴ κτεῖνε Κροῖσον,*" Take heed and meddle not with the king; his person is too sacred, and religion too dear to him to be assaulted by vulgar hands. In short, he acquitted himself in this affair with so much truth and piety, learning and judgment, that in those papers his memory will last until very late succeeding generations.

[Ps. xxxix. 3.]

Herod. i. 85. 16. Schweig.

But this most reverend prelate found a nobler adversary, and a braver scene for his contention: he found that the Roman priests, being wearied and baffled by the wise discourses and pungent arguments of the English divines, had

studiously declined any more to dispute the particular questions against us, but fell at last upon a general charge, imputing to the Church of England the great crime of schism; and by this they thought they might with most probability deceive unwary and unskilful readers; for they saw the schism, and they saw we had left them; and because they considered not the causes, they resolved to out-face us in the charge: but now it was that '*dignum nactus argumentum*,' 'having an argument fit' to employ his great abilities,

> "Consecrat hic præsul calamum calamique labores,
> "Ante aras Domino læta tropæa suo;"

'The Bishop now dedicates his labours to the service of God' and of His Church, undertook the question, and in a full discourse proves the Church of Rome not only to be guilty of the schism, by making it necessary to depart from them; but they did actuate the schisms, and themselves made the first separation in the great point of the pope's supremacy, which was the palladium for which they principally contended. He made it appear that the popes of Rome were usurpers of the rights of kings and bishops: that they brought in new doctrines in every age, that they imposed their own devices upon Christendom as articles of faith, that they prevaricated the doctrines of the apostles, that the Church of England only returned to her primitive purity, that she joined with Christ and His Apostles, that she agreed in all the sentiments of the primitive Church. He stated the questions so wisely, and conducted them so prudently, and handled them so learnedly, that I may truly say, they never were more materially confuted by any man, since the questions have so unhappily disturbed Christendom. '*Verum hoc eos malè ussit:*' and they finding themselves smitten under the fifth rib, set up an old champion of their own, a Goliah to fight against the armies of Israel; the old Bishop of Chalcedon, known to many of us, replied to this excellent book; but was so answered by a rejoinder made by the Lord Bishop of Derry, in which he so pressed the former arguments, refuted the cavils, brought in so many impregnable authorities and probations, and added so many moments and weights to his discourse, that the pleasures of

reading the book would be the greatest, if the profit to the Church of God were not greater.

Ovid. M. i. 111.

"Flumina jam lactis, jam flumina nectaris ibant,
"Flavaque de viridi stillabant ilice mella."

For so Sampson's riddle was again expounded, "Out of the strong came meat, and out of the eater came sweetness." [Judg. xiv. 14.] His arguments were strong, and the eloquence was sweet and delectable; and though there started up another combatant against him, yet he had only the honour to fall by the hands of Hector: still "*hæret lateri lethalis arundo;*" [Æn. iv. 73.] the headed arrow went in so far, that it could not be drawn out but the barbed steel stuck behind: and whenever men will desire to be satisfied in those great questions, the Bishop of Derry's book shall be his oracle.

I will not insist upon his other excellent writings; but it is known every where with what piety and acumen he wrote against the Manichean doctrine of "fatal necessity," which a late witty man had pretended to adorn with a new vizor: but this excellent person washed off the ceruse and the meretricious paintings, rarely well asserted the economy of the Divine Providence, and having once more triumphed over his adversary, "*plenus victoriarum et tropæorum,*" betook himself to the more agreeable attendance upon sacred offices; and having usefully and wisely discoursed of the sacred rite of confirmation, imposed his hands upon the most illustrious princes, the Dukes of York and Gloucester, and the Princess Royal, and ministered to them the promise of the Holy Spirit, and ministerially established them in the religion and service of the Holy Jesus. And one thing more I shall remark; that at his leaving those parts upon the king's return, some of the remonstrant ministers of the Low Countries coming to take their leaves of this great man, and desiring that by his means the Church of England would be kind to them, he had reason to grant it, because they were learned men, and in many things of a most excellent belief; yet he reproved them, and gave them caution against it, that they approached too near and gave too much countenance to the great and dangerous errors of the Socinians.

He thus having served God and the king abroad, God was pleased to return to the king and to us all, as in the days of

old, and we sung the song of David, "*In convertendo captivitatem Sion,*" when king David and all his servants returned to Jerusalem. This great person having trod in the wine-press, was called to drink of the wine, and, as an honorary reward of his great services and abilities, was chosen Primate of this national Church, in which time we are to look upon him, as the king and the king's great vicegerent did, as a person concerning whose abilities the world had too great testimony ever to make a doubt. It is true he was in the declension of his age and health; but his very ruins were goodly; and they who saw the broken heaps of Pompey's theatre, and the crushed obelisks, and the old face of beauteous Philænium, could not but admire the disordered glories of such magnificent structures, which were venerable in their very dust. [Ps. cxxvi. 1.]

He ever was used to overcome all difficulties, only mortality was too hard for him; but still his virtues and his spirit were immortal; he still took great care, and still had new and noble designs, and proposed to himself admirable things. He governed his province with great justice and sincerity;

> "Unus amplo consulens pastor gregi,
> "Somnos tuetur omnium solus vigil."

And had this remark in all his government, that as he was a great hater of sacrilege, so he professed himself a public enemy to non-residence, and often would declare wisely and religiously against it, allowing it in no case but of necessity, or the greater good of the Church. There are great things spoken of his predecessor, St. Patrick, that he founded seven hundred churches and religious convents, that he ordained five thousand priests, and, with his own hands, consecrated three hundred and fifty bishops. How true the story is I know not; but we are all witnesses that the late primate, whose memory we now celebrate, did, by an extraordinary contingency of Providence, in one day, consecrate two archbishops and ten bishops; and did benefit to almost all the churches in Ireland, and was greatly instrumental to the re-endowments of the whole clergy; and in the greatest abilities and incomparable industry, was inferior to none of his most glorious antecessors.

Since the canonization of saints came into the Church, we find no Irish bishop canonized, except St. Laurence of Dublin, and, St. Malachias of Down; indeed Richard of Armagh's canonization was propounded, but not effected; but the character which was given of that learned primate by Trithemius, does exactly fit this, our late father: "*Vir in Divinis Scripturis eruditus, secularis philosophiæ jurisque canonici non ignarus, clarus ingenio, sermone scholasticus, in declamandis sermonibus ad populum excellentis industriæ:*" "He was learned in the Scriptures, skilled in secular philosophy, and not unknowing in the civil and canon laws" (in which studies I wish the clergy were, with some carefulness and diligence, still more conversant), "he was of an excellent spirit, a scholar in his discourses, an early and industrious preacher to the people." And as if there were a more particular sympathy between their souls, our primate had so great a veneration to his memory, that he purposed, if he had lived, to have restored his monument in Dundalk, which time, or impiety, or unthankfulness, had either omitted or destroyed. So great a lover he was of all true and inherent worth, that he loved it in the very memory of the dead, and to have such great examples transmitted to the intuition and imitation of posterity.

De Scriptor. Eccles.

At his coming to the primacy, he knew he should at first espy little besides the ruin of discipline, a harvest of thorns, and heresies prevailing in the hearts of the people, the churches possessed by wolves and intruders, men's hearts greatly estranged from true religion; and, therefore, he set himself to weed the fields of the Church; he treated the adversaries sometimes sweetly, sometimes he confuted them learnedly, sometimes he rebuked them sharply. He visited his charges diligently and in his own person, not by proxies and instrumental deputations: '*Quærens non nostra, sed nos, et quæ sunt Jesu Christi:*' He designed nothing that we knew of but the redintegration of religion, the honour of God and the king, the restoring of collapsed discipline, and the renovation of faith and the service of God in the churches. And still he was indefatigable, and, even at the last scene of his life, intended to undertake a regal visitation. "*Quid enim vultis me otiosum à Domino comprehendi?*" said one; "He was

[2 Cor. xii. 14.]

not willing that God should take him unemployed:" but, good man, he felt his tabernacle ready to fall in pieces, and could go no further,—for God would have no more work done by that hand; he, therefore, espying this, put his house in order, and had lately visited his diocese, and done what he then could, to put his charge in order; for he had, a good while since, received the sentence of death within himself, and knew he was shortly to render an account of his stewardship; he, therefore, upon a brisk alarm of death, which God sent him the last January, made his will; in which, besides the prudence and presence of spirit manifested in making just and wise settlement of his estate, and provisions for his descendants: at midnight, and in the trouble of his sickness and circumstances of addressing death, still kept a special sentiment, and made confession of God's admirable mercies, and gave thanks that God had permitted him to live to see the blessed restoration of his majesty and the Church of England, confessed his Faith to be the same as ever, gave praises to God that he was born and bred up in this religion, and prayed to God, and hoped he should die in the communion of this Church, which he declared to be the most pure and apostolical Church in the whole world.

He prayed to God to pardon his frailties and infirmities, relied upon the mercies of God and the merits of Jesus Christ, and, with a singular sweetness resigned up his soul into the hands of his Redeemer.

But God, who is the great Choragus and Master of the scenes of life and death, was not pleased then to draw the curtains; there was an epilogue to his life yet to be acted and spoken. He returned to actions and life, and went on in the methods of the same procedure as before; was desirous still to establish the affairs of the Church, complained of some disorders which he purposed to redress, girt himself to the work; but though his spirit was willing, yet his flesh was weak; and as the Apostles in the vespers of Christ's passion, so he, in the eye of his own dissolution, was heavy, not to sleep, but heavy unto death; and looked for the last warning, which seized on him in the midst of business; and though it was sudden, yet it could not be unexpected, or unprovided by surprise, and, therefore, could be no other than that

[Sueton. in Vitâ. 99.] "εὐθανασία" which Augustus used to wish unto himself, a civil and well-natured death, without the amazement of troublesome circumstances, or the great cracks of a falling house, or the convulsions of impatience. Seneca tells that Bassus Aufidius was wont to say, "*Sperare se nullum dolorem esse in illo extremo anhelitu; si tamen esset, habere aliquantum in ipsa brevitate solatii:*" "He hoped that the pains of the last dissolution were little or none; or if they were, it was full of comfort that they could be but short." It happened so to this excellent man; his passive fortitude had been abundantly tried before, and, therefore, there was the less need of it now; his active graces had been abundantly demonstrated by the great and good things he did; and, therefore, his last scene was not so laborious, but God called him away something after the manner of Moses, which the Jews express by '*osculum oris Dei*,' 'the kiss of God's mouth;' that is, a death indeed fore-signified, but gentle and serene, and without temptation.

Epist. 30.

To sum up all: he was a wise prelate, a learned doctor, a just man, a true friend, a great benefactor to others, a thankful beneficiary where he was obliged himself. He was a faithful servant to his masters, a loyal subject to the king, a zealous assertor of his religion against popery on one side, and fanaticism on the other. The practice of his religion was not so much in forms and exterior ministries, though he was a great observer of all the public rites and ministries of the Church, as it was in doing good for others. He was like Myson, whom the Scythian Anacharsis so greatly praised, "ὁ Μύσων ἦν οἶκον οἰκῆσας καλῶς," 'he governed his family well,' he gave to all their due of maintenance and duty; he did great benefit to mankind; he had the fate of the apostle St. Paul, he passed 'through evil report and good report, as a deceiver, and yet true.' He was a man of great business and great resort: "*Semper aliquis in Cydonis domo*," as the Corinthians said; "There was always somebody in Cydon's house." He was "μεριζων τὸν βιὸν ἔργῳ καὶ βίβλῳ," 'he divided his life into labour and his book.' He took care of his churches when he was alive, and even after his death, having left five hundred pounds for the repair of his cathedral of Armagh and St. Peter's church in Drogheda. He was an

[Max. Tyr. xv.]

Syncs. Ep. 57.

excellent scholar, and rarely well accomplished; first instructed to great excellency by natural parts, and then consummated by study and experience. Melancthon was used to say, that himself was a logician; Pomeranus, a grammarian; Justus Jonas, an orator; but that Luther was all these. It was greatly true of him, that the single perfections which make many men eminent, were united in this primate, and made him illustrious.

"Ergo Quinctilium perpetuus sopor
"Urget? cui Pudor, et, Justitiæ soror,
"Incorrupta Fides, nudaque Veritas,
"Quando ullum invenient parem?" [Hor., Carm., i. 24. 5—8.]

It will be hard to find his equal in all things: "*Fortasse tanquam Phœnix anno quingentesimo nascitur,*" (that I may use the words of Seneca) "*nec est mirum ex intervallo magna generari; mediocria et in turbam nascentia sæpe fortuna producit; eximia vero ipsa raritate commendat.*" [Epist. 42.] For in him were visible the great lines of Hooker's judiciousness, of Jewel's learning, of the acuteness of bishop Andrewes. He was skilled in more great things than one, and, as one said of Phidias, he could not only make excellent statues of ivory, but he could work in stone and brass. He shewed his equanimity in poverty, and his justice in riches; he was useful in his country, and profitable in his banishment; for as Paræus was at Anvilla, Luther at Wittenburg, St. Athanasius and St. Chrysostom in their banishment, St. Jerome in his retirement at Bethlehem, they were oracles to them that needed it: so was he in Holland and France, where he was abroad; and beside the particular endearments which his friends received from him, for he did do relief to his brethren that wanted, and supplied the soldiers out of his store in Yorkshire, when himself could but ill spare it: but he received public thanks from the convocation of which he was president, and public justification from the parliament where he was speaker; so that although, as one said, "*Miraculi instar vitæ iter, si longum, sine offensione percurrere;*" yet no man had greater enemies, and no man had greater justifications. But God hath taken our Elijah from our heads this day: I pray God that at least his mantle may be left behind, and that his spirit may be doubled upon his successor; and that

we may all meet together with him at the right hand of the Lamb, where every man shall receive according to his deeds, whether they be good, or whether they be evil. I conclude with the words of Caius Plinius: "*Equidem beatos puto quibus Deorum munere datum est, aut facere scribenda, aut scribere legenda:*" 'he wrote many things fit to be read, and did very many things worthy to be written:' which if we wisely imitate, we may hope to meet him in the resurrection of the just, and feast with him in the eternal supper of the Lamb, there to sing perpetual anthems to the honour of God the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost; to whom be all honour, &c.

[Epist. vi. 16. 3. ed. Gierig.]

LETTERS, &c.

OF

ARCHBISHOP BRAMHALL.

LETTERS,

&c.

LETTER I.[a]

From Dr. Bramhall to Laud (then) Bishop of London.

Right Reverend Father,

My most honour'd Lord, presuming partly upon your Licence, but especially directed by my Lord Deputy's commands, I am to give your Fatherhood a brief account of the present state of the poor Church of Ireland, such as our short intelligence here, and your Lordship's weightier imployments there, will permit. First, for the fabricks, it is hard to say whether the churches be the more ruinous and sordid, or the people irreverent; even in Dublin the metropolis of this kingdom, and seat of justice (to begin the inquisition where the reformation will begin), we find our parochial church converted to the Lord Deputy's stable, a second to a nobleman's dwelling house, the quire of a third to a tennis court, and the Vicar acts the keeper. In Christ's Church, the principal church in Ireland, whither the Lord Deputy and Council repair every Sunday, the Vaults, from one end of the Minster to the other, are made into tipplingrooms, for beer, wine, and tobacco, demised all to Popish recusants, and by them and others so much frequented in time of Divine Service, that though there is no danger of blowing up the assembly above their heads, yet there is of poisoning them with the fumes. The table used for the administration of the blessed Sacrament in the midst of the choir, made an ordinary seat for maids and apprentices. I cannot omit the glorious tomb[b] in the other Cathedral Church of St. Patrick,

[See Life, p. vi.]

[a] [Printed in Collier's Ch. Hist., Pt. ii. bk. ix. vol. ii. p. 759, from the State Papers, and from Collier by Mant, Ch. of Ireland, c. viii. § 3. pp. 448-452.]

[b] ['The tomb here complained of had been erected by the Earl of Cork, with a vault of hewn stone beneath it. As to its usurping the place of the Altar, Archbishop Usher explained, that the place of its erection was an ancient passage into a chapel within the church, which had time out of mind

in the proper place of the Altar, just opposite to his Majesty's seat, having his father's name superscribed upon it, as if it were contriv'd on purpose to gain the worship and reverence which the Chapter and whole Church are bound by special statute to give towards the East. And either the soil itself, or a licence to build and bury, and make a vault in the place of the Altar, under seal, which is a tantamount, passed to the Earl and his heirs. "*Credimus esse Deos?*" This being the case in Dublin, your Lordship will judge what we may expect in the country.

Next for the clergy; I find few footsteps yet of foreign differences, so I hope it will be an easier task not to admit them than to have them ejected. But I doubt much whether the clergy be very orthodox, and could wish both the Articles and Canons of the Church of England were establish'd here by Act of Parliament, or State; that as we live all under one king, so we might both in doctrine and discipline observe an uniformity. The inferior sort of ministers are below all degrees of contempt, in respect of their poverty and ignorance: the boundless heaping together of benefices by *commendams* and *dispensations* in the superiors is but too apparent; yea, even often by plain usurpation, and indirect compositions made between the patrons (as well ecclesiastick as lay), and the incumbents; by which the least part, many times not above 40s., rarely £10., in the year, is reserv'd for him that should serve at the Altar; insomuch that it is affirm'd that by all or some of these means one bishop in the remoter parts of the kingdom doth hold three and twenty benefices with cure. Generally their residence is as little as their livings. Seldom any suitor petitions for less than three vicarages at a time. And it is a main prejudice to his Majesty's service, and a hindrance to the right establishment of this Church, that the clergy have in a manner no dependance upon the Lord Deputy, nor he any means left to prefer those that are deserving amongst them: for besides all those advowsons which were given by that great patron of the Church,

been stopped up with a partition of boards and lime; and he considered it a great ornament to the church. His explanation, however, did not give entire satisfaction; and in the end the monument was removed to a less offensive situation. — Mason's St. Patrick's, notes liii, liv. quoted by Mant.]

King James, of happy memory, to Bishops and the College here, many also were conferr'd upon *the Plantations* (never was so good a gift so infinitely abused); and I know not how, or by what order, even in those blessed days of His Sacred Majesty, all the rest of any note have been given or passed away in the time of the late Lord Deputy.

Lord Falkland.

Lastly, for the revenues, how small care hath been taken for the service of his Majesty, or the good of the Church, is hereby apparent, that no officer, or other person, can inform my Lord what Deanery or Benefices are in His Majesty's gift, and about three hundred livings are omitted out of the Book of Tax for First Fruits, and Twentieth Parts, sundry of them of good value; two or three Bishopricks, and the whole Diocese of Killfannore. The alienations of Church possessions by long leases and deeds are infinite; yea even since the Act of State to restrain them, it is believ'd, that divers are bold still to practice, in hopes of secrecy and impunity, and will adventure, until their hands be tied by Act of Parliament, or some of the delinquents censur'd in the Star-Chamber. The Earl of Cork holds the whole Bishoprick of Lismore at the rent of 40s., or five marks, by the year; many Benefices, that ought to be presentative, are by negligence enjoy'd as though they were appropriate.

[i. e. Kilfenoragh.]

For the remedying of these evils, next to God and his sacred Majesty, I know my Lord depends on your Fatherhood's wisdom and zeal for the Church. My duty binds me to pray for a blessing upon both your good endeavours. For the present, my Lord hath pull'd down the Deputy's seat in his own Chapel, and restor'd the Altar to its ancient place, which was thrust out of doors. The like is done in Christ's-Church. The purgation and restitution of the stable to the right owners and uses will follow next, and strict mandates to my Lords the Bishops, to see the Churches repair'd, adorned, and preserved from prophanation, through the whole kingdom.

For the clergy and their revenues, my Lord is careful that no petitions be admitted without good certificate and diligent enquiry (thought a strange course here); and to enable himself, and the succeeding Deputies, to encourage such as shall deserve well in the Church, his Lordship

intends, as well in the Commission for defective Titles, as for the *Plantations*, to reserve the right of Advowsons to his Majesty, and as well by diligent search in the Records, as by a selected Commission of many branches, to regain such advowsons as have been usurped through the negligence of officers, change of Deputies, or power of great men; and by the same to inform himself of the true state of the Church and Clergy, to provide for the Cures and Residence, to perfect his Majesty's Tax, to prevent and remedy alienations, to restore illegal impropriations, to dispose, by way of lapse, of all those supernumerary benefices, which are held unjustly, and not without infinite scandal, under the pretence of *commendams* and dispensations; and to settle as much as in present is possible the whole state of the Church. This testimony I must give of his care, that it is not possible for the intentions of a mortal man to be more serious and sincere than his, in those things that concern the good of the poor Church.

It is some comfort to see the Romish Ecclesiasticks cannot laugh at us, who come behind none in point of disunion and scandal.

I know my tediousness will be offensive, unless your Lordship's licence and my Lord Deputy's command procure my pardon. I will not add a word more, but the profession of my humble thanks and bounden service; and so, being ready to receive your Lordship's commands, I desire to remain, as your noble favours have for ever bound me,

Your Lordship's
Daily and devoted Servant,
JOHN BRAMHALL.

Dublin Castle,
August the 10*th*, 1633.

LETTER II.[c]

From the Lord Bishop of Derry to Lord Deputy Wentworth.

May it please your Lordship,

I have, according to your commands, reconciled the difference between my Lord Bishop of Raphoe and Mr. Hamilton, in a manner with the *explicit* consent of both parties, but altogether with the *implicit*. Both have referred themselves to me to set down that end in writing, which then I delivered by word. I have drawn one eyry of hawks for fear of stealing[d]; but, because they are not so ready, I forbear the other a while, and will send them together very shortly. As your Lordship hath committed the care of the fishing to me, so I will be responsible that neither the fish shall be spoiled, nor the least detriment redound to his Majesty by any means. Yet I desire, so soon as may be, to know the certain rent paid by the society for it, and the clear profit they made of it, that at the least I shall be well secured. Upon the 27th of May, at Colerain only, they had taken sixty-two tuns of salmon. My fishing day is the 15th of June, when I shall be able to give your Lordship a full account. Since my last, I have disposed the ferry at Colerain to the old Charon for £34. a-year. The City had six, the officers the rest. I humbly thank your Lordship for our church and bells. I have sent herein Mr. Croxton's[e] case for Trinity church in Cork, with instructions concerning the same, and do thankfully accept your Lordship's favourable dispensation for a longer time, to make return of my other representations. Yet one I thought fit in present to make

[c] [Rawdon Papers, No. iii. This letter is partly a reply to one from Lord Wentworth, dated from Dublin May the 11th, 1635 (Rawd. Papers, No. ii.), requesting Dr. Bramhall's good offices in the "determining of some differences" between Dr. John Leslie then Bishop of Raphoe, and Mr. John Hamilton a kinsman of the Marquis of Hamilton.]

[d] ["In 1634 his Majesty's Attorney and Solicitor General, were ordered to prepare an Act to restrain 'the stealing of great hawks, or taking of hawks with nets,' &c." (Berwick).]

[e] ["In a letter from Archbishop Laud to the Lord Deputy, dated in 1634, his Grace says, 'I hear from my Lord of Derry, that my Lord Primate (Usher) is not very well pleased with Croxton, nor his manner of preaching. I am sorry if the young man hath given any just offence, but I hope he hath not; and I doubt this is some foolish business of Arminianism.'" (Berwick).]

known unto you, in the behalf of the bearer Mr. Stanhope, in whose favour your Lordship commanded a caveat to be entered. The Rectory of Donoghchiddy is worth £200. per annum. The patron is Sir George Hamilton the younger; the incumbent is one Simple, who hath an exhibition out of it of £50. or £60. a-year by composition, whereof Sir George was not guilty at first, but his mother, howsoever he may be an accessary after. The rectory was antiently in the gift of the Bishop, but excepted and reserved by his Majesty in the patent right, as in the case of Bell-turbitt, so as the Bishop was excluded by way of Estopel[f], yet the King had no power to convey the same to any other untill there was a formal surrender, which was not until the 14th of King James, long before which this advowson was granted from the Crown; and admit Sir George have lately passed his patent, and this in it, which I know not: but suppose the worst, and admit all this to be valid, yet undoubtedly it is void *pro hâc vice*, being granted by his mother, who had no right from his Majesty. I do not take upon me to advise concerning the inheritance; but in respect of the unworthy composition, and to preserve the rights of the Church, which otherwise by long leases may be obscured, I conceive it not amiss under favor to grant this turn of it may stand with your Lordship's good pleasure. This case requires the stricter inquisition because it is general, and, if it stood, would bring back to the Crown, out of unworthy hands, the advowsons of a great number of as good benefices as any be in the North of Ireland. My Lord of Strabane[g] (who is either in a consumption, or very near it) and Sir George Hamilton[h], the elder, having gotten some notice, I know not how, but suspect it might be by some words that fell from Mr. Stanhope, of a title to this rectory obtained or to be obtained from the

[f] ["Estoppel, ... denotes as much as an impediment, or bar, of an action, growing from his own fact that hath, or otherwise might have had, his action: .... but Broke defineth it to be a bar or hinderance to a man to plead the truth, and restraineth it not to the impediment given to a man by his own act only, but by another's also." Cowel's Law Diction. sub voc., Lond. 1701. Bramhall seems to use it in the latter and wider sense.]

[g] ["He died in the year 1638. He was second son of James the first Earl of Abercorn, and was dignified with the title of Strabane by his elder brother's gift, and was present as such by proxy in the Parliament of Ireland which sat in 1634." (Berwick).]

[h] ["Sir George Hamilton, his brother, was Baronet of Nova Scotia, and ancestor to the present Earl of Abercorn" (Berwick).]

Crown, came to me about it. I told them I knew nothing in particular, but in general that you did not affect such compositions; that I thought their best course was to seek for an establishment of it for the future; that I would promise nothing in that respect, because I knew not what instructions your Lordship might have, but only this, that I would be a suitor that Sir George might be heard before it passed the Great Seal; nor do I think the incumbent would be averse, so he might have Mr. Stanhope's Vicarage of 100 marks by the year[i]. We have finished the commission for Terman-O-Mongan, and I hope we have proved by the juries at the great office that this is the very land intended, by a collector that this land paid by both names, by all the country that it was in the Barony of Omagh and County of Tyrone, and so their officer takes at Donegal merely *extra comitatum*. That the difference is only in the Irish pronuntiation, and not another Terman-O-Mongan to be found, tho' a man would seek it with a lanthorne and candle. Macgrath himself doth in a manner offer a submission, desires but forbearance of the charges, which, tho' it lost me £100. I would be contented to forbear upon his disclamer or release. I fear nothing but delays and cases. I am a humble suitor to your Lordship for a license[j] to have powder for the defence of my house, and provision of my table, either out of the store-house at Derry, or of the merchant. I crave pardon for my tediousness, and remain, as your noble favours have for ever bound me,

[See Life, p. vi. note x.]

Your Lordship's most faithful servante,
JOH. DERENSIS.

Fawne[k], *May* 30*th*, 1635.

[i] ["At 13s. 4d. the mark, the vicarage was worth £66. 13s. 4d. by the year." (Berwick).]

[j] ["In a letter from Sir Christopher Wandesford to the Bishop of Derry, dated April 25, 1640, he says, 'I have spoke to the Master of the Ordnance for some powder for Sir Robert Steward, and from him he may be supplied when he moves for it.' Sir Christopher was then Lord Deputy." (Berwick).]

[k] ["Fawne, otherwise, I believe, called Fahan, six miles north-west of Derry, on Lough Swilly, in Inishowen. Here was formerly a noble monastery, and [here] at this time must have been the residence of the Bishop of Derry." (Berwick, p. 63).]

[Rawdon Papers, No. xiv.]

LETTER III.

From the Lord Bishop of Derry to John Spottiswood[1], *Archbishop of St. Andrew's.*

May it please your Grace,

Finding in my journey to Londonderry so fair an opportunity, I could not in gratitude and civility omit the expression of my thanks, and faithful services to your Grace by this gentleman, Colonel Steward. Mr. Cunningham is provided of a benefice not so good as I could wish, but yet, one that may hold life and soul together, as we say, until he get one that he may live more comfortably upon, which I doubt not a short time will effect, after my Lord Deputy's return from his progress. I humbly thank your Grace for your high favour, the book of Common Prayer: glad I was to see it, and more glad to see it such as it is, to be envied in some things perhaps if one owned. I am meditating a journey into England, and hope to kiss your Grace's hands in the way, if my Lord Deputy's absence afford me so much leisure, whose commands I expect by the next. So wishing your Grace many happy days for the good of that Church, I desire to remain,

[Scotch Book of Common Prayer, publ. in 1637.]

Your Grace's faithful, and humble servant,

JOH. DERENSIS.

Glasslough, Aug. 13, 1637.

Thus superscribed:—

"To the most Reverend Father in God, the Lord Archbishop of Saint Andrews his Grace, Lord Chancelor of the kingdom of Scotland, these *present*."

[1] [About three years subsequent to the date of this letter, when "Scotland became so suddenly inflamed, that it was too hot for many of the royal and orthodox clergy," and they "were forced to flee into England" and Ireland, the Bishop of Derry in the latter, as the Archbishop of Canterbury in the former country, "received them with all brotherly compassion, and provided for them in such a degree, that we have the Abp. of St. Andrews, the Abp. of Glasgow, the Bishop of Ross, and others, largely acknowledging the Bishop of Derry's charity in several letters," and "praying God to reward the Abp. of Canterbury and his Lordship for the relief they gave their distressed and persecuted brethren" (Life, &c. pp. 23, 24). Spottiswood "was appointed Chancellor of Scotland in 1634, the greatest office which had been in the hands of a Churchman since the Reformation. His History of the Church of Scotland is well known. He died in 1644 at Westminster." (Berwick).]

LETTER IV.

[Rawdon Papers, No. xii.]

From the Lord Bishop of Derry to Doctor Coote[m]*, Dean of Down.*

Sir,

I have received yours of the 15th of January, and would not part with it for an £100.; you will hardly believe that your letters are so precious; but I will keep it as a monument of your gratitude and discretion. You call herein for an account in your letter, truly I cannot send it till the Lords Justices sign: but then you shall have it by a messenger on purpose; if it give you not content, blame yourself. And when you write how dearly you have paid for the lease, I desire you to recollect yourself, and inform me in what coin it was, for in good soothe, I remember not so much as one cracked groate that ever you disbursed about it. You tell me that for the time to come, neither I, nor any for me, shall let, set, or intermeddle with the tithes, or any thing that was the Countess of Tirconnel's—*Dura verba;* on the other side, I tell you I will dispose of them, and for the time to come (you have been so thankful for the £100. a-year I have given you sometimes) you shall not meddle with a sheaf of them, (mark it, Sir) so long as the lease endures. Some other part of the Church shall fare the better for your disrespect. I am not bound to relieve you in those pinching necessities, as you call them, which your letter imply [sic] who lose not only your friends, but your brothers by your disrespect. You tell me of my Lord Deputy, whose mind I know better than yourself. When your service to this Church and mine are laid together, I shall not need to appear hoodwinked, 'tis your usual phrase—So God bless us from ingratitude.

Your neglected servant,

JOH. DERENSIS.

Jan. 27, 1639.

[m] ["After the Bishop's impeachment in 1640, there was a petition presented to the House of Lords by this Dean of Down, which was ordered to be taken into consideration" (Berwick).]

[Rawdon Papers, No. xxx.]

LETTER V.

From the Bishop of Derry to his wife, Mrs. Bramhall.

My Dearest Joy,

[See Life, pp. viii, ix.] Thou mayest see by my delay in writing, that I am not willing to write while things are in those conditions. But shall we receive good at the hands of God, and shall we not receive ill? He gives and takes away, blessed be His Holy Name! I have been near a fortnight at the black rod, charged with a treason. Never any man was more innocent of that foul crime; the ground is only my reservedness. God in His mercy, I do not doubt, will send us many merry and happy days together after this, when this storm is blown over. But this is a time of humiliation for the present. By all the love between us, I require thee that thou do not cast down thyself, but bear it with a chearful mind, and trust in God that He will deliver us. I send all the horses down except my own nag, which John Field looks to. I would have thee to come up, and only Isabell [n] with thee, and two servants. I hope by that time you come to Dublin all things will be cleared. Whatsoever monies Thomas Rowth hath, bring up with thee, for we shall have need of all and more. In thy absence and mine, let my sister govern the house at Fawne, and live privately there; I know Mrs. Wandesforde will assist her. Give Thomas Rowth charge in your absence and mine to take care of the husbandry at Fawne, and desire Captain Vaughan to occupy it; I believe he will do so much for me. I send you a copy of the charge; my Lord Chancellor and the Chief Justice believe it not to be of any great moment. I suppose the Archdeacon [o] will come up with you, his own business requires it. If he do not, send to Thomas Halley to come along with you. My blessing on the

[Sir Richard Bolton and Sir Gerard Lowther, both also accused.]

[n] [His daughter, afterwards wife to Sir James Graham.]

[o] ["Edward Stanhope, Archdeacon of Derry. In the following year, I see a petition of his referred to the consideration of the Committee of Grievances" (Berwick). See also Letter II.]

children; my love to all my sisters, and all our friends. God Almighty send us a speedy and a happy meeting.

Your loving and faithful husband,
JOH. DERENSIS.

March 12. 1640. [i.e. $164\frac{0}{1}$.]

Sweet Heart, upon some better consideration let Thomas Halley come with you, not the Archdeacon. Put up all the plate into a great trunk, and when you come leave the key of it with my sister.

Thus superscribed:—
"To my dear and loving wife Mrs. Ellen Bramhall at Derry," These.

LETTER VI[p].

From the Bishop of Derry to the Lord Primate (Usher).

May it please your Grace,

It would have been a great comfort and contentment to me to have received a few lines of counsell or comfort in this my great affliction which has befallen me for my zeal to the service of his Majestie and the good of this Church, in being a poor instrument to restore the usurped advowzons and appropriations to the Crown, and to encrease the revenue of the Church, in a fair just way alwaies with the consent of parties, —which did ever use to take away errors: but now it is said to be obtained by threatning and force. What force did I ever use to any? What one man ever suffered for not consenting? My force was only force of reason and law; the scale must needs yield when weight is put into it; and your Grace knows to what pass many Bishopricks were brought; some to 100 per annum; some 50 as Waterford, Kilfenoragh, and some others; some to five marks as Cloyn and Kil-

[See Life, pp. viii, ix, and note L; and Letter V.]

[p] [From Bp. Vesey's Life, p. 25. Two letters of Abp. Usher's in reply to this are in the Rawdon Papers, nos. xxxiii. xxxiv.]

macduagh. How in some diocesses, as in Ferns and Leighlin, there was scarce a living left, that was not farm'd out to the Patron or to some for his use, at two, three, four, or five pounds per annum, for a long time, three lives, or a hundred yeares. How the Chantries of Ardee, Dondalk, &c. were employed to maintaine Priests and Fryers, which are now the chief maintenance of the Incumbents. In all this my part was only labour and expence, but I find that losses make a deeper impression than benefits; I cannot stop men's mouths, but I challenge the world for one farthing I ever got either by References or Church preferments; I fly to your Grace as an anchor at this time, when my friends cannot help me. God knows how I have exulted at night, that day I had gained any considerable revenue to the Church, little dreaming that in future times that act should be questioned as treasonable. I never took the oath of Judge or Counsellour, yet do I not know wherein I ever in all those passages deviated from the Rule of Justice. My trust is in God, that as my intentions were sincere, so He will deliver me. I know not how I came to be assistant to the Bishop of Down: except it were that at the same time I had References from my Lord, and composed all the differences between that See and my Lords of Ardes, Claneboy, Conway, and others. I send your Grace the copy of a petition [q] enclosed as was sent me. The Sollicitor who getts the hands is one Gray censured in the Starr-Chamber in one Steward's case. I hear he has got £300. by it, and that the most of the subscribers did not know what they subscribed, but in general that it was for the purity of Religion, and the honour of their nation. They say he has gathered a rabble of 1500 hands, all obscure persons, not one that I know, but Patrick Derry of the Newry, a Recusant, not one Englishman. It were no difficult task, if that were thought the way, to get half of those hands to a contrary petition, and 5000 more of a better rank. Since I was Bishop, I never displaced any man in my Diocess, but Mr. Noble for professed Popery, Mr. Hugh for confessed Simony, and Mr. Dunkine, an illiterate Curate, for refusing to pray for his Majestie. Almighty God bless

[Henry Leslie or Lesley.]

[q] [Viz. against Episcopacy; as appears from Abp. Usher's reply.]

your Grace, even as the Church stands in need of you, at this time, which is the hearty and faithfull prayer of

Your Grace's
obedient servant and Suffragan,
JO. DERENSIS.

April 26, 1641.

[*No place mentioned, but written probably during his imprisonment in the Castle of Dublin.*] [Life, p. ix.]

LETTER VII.

[Rawdon Papers, No. xli.]

From the Bishop of Derry to his Majesty Charles II. taken from the Bishop's own copy.

SIRE,

I have been bred up in a school where I learned to observe Majesty at a distance, and never was so presumptuous to present a line to my Sovereign. Much less should I have adventured to write to you at this time in that place, but that I cannot be so cruel to myself, as altogether to desert and quit a poor reputation of integrity, which (with the conscience of my loyalty) is the only thing left unto me of all that I enjoyed in this world.—My Lord Marquiss of Ormond did commit a trust unto me for the support of his noble Lady. Your Majesty was graciously pleased to approve it, and to ratify that power which he had given me. I have executed it honestly with as much discretion as God hath lent me. Yet some persons of eminent esteem with your Majesty, I hope deservedly, mere strangers to me, as I to them (I only wish they had not been too credulous to lend open ears to what Mr. Loving[r] suggested for his own ends), have not spared to blast my credit to his Royal Highness the Duke of York, who was most concerned in it, as if I was guilty of sinister practices and disservice to your Majesty. This accusation came to me at the second hand from my friends in France, Brabant, and Flanders. Presently upon notice I went to Brussels, made my address to his Highness,

[r] ["There was a Mr. Richard Lovell, who was tutor to the Duke of Gloucester, by whom he was well instructed, says Lord Clarendon, in the principles of religion. Whether *Lovell* should be read for *Loving* is what I do not know." (Berwick).]

petitioned for an hearing, had it granted, was acquitted; mine accusers themselves confessing mine innocence, or rather wanting all pretence or shew of a charge.

Nevertheless, I hear the same information hath come to your ears. My humble request and supplication is that you will continue me in your good opinion, untill you afford me means to vindicate myself by the just favor of an indifferent hearing. The weight of your displeasure would so crush me down, being already sunk under the burthen of my other sufferings, that I should not only quit that employment, but retire myself into some desolate corner of the world there to pray for your Majesty's happiness. If only to accuse, were sufficient to condemn, no man shall be innocent. In the mesnagery of a much greater trust I have lived free, not only from corruption, but suspicion. And having tried myself Parliament proof in that, I do not doubt to justify myself before equal judges in this. The God of Heaven protect you from all your enemies, and prosper your affairs, that you may live to equal and exceed the glory of your most renowned ancestors, which shall be the daily prayer of

Your Majesty's most loyal and
most dutiful subject,
JOH. DERENSIS.

Hague,
Jan. $\frac{16}{26}$, $\frac{1650}{1651}$.

[Rawdon Papers, No. xlii.]

LETTER VIII.

From the Bishop of Derry to his Son, under the name of Mr. John Pierson.

JOHN,

As to the letter which you have sent me inclosed in yours from your noble friend, you may return him this answer with the tender of my hearty thanks for his favours to you and the rest of mine. I remember well he had a proper adventure, and that he received some money of Mr. Wandesforde;

but how much his adventure was, or how much the money was, I dare not charge my memory, untill I see the old accounts, or the copy of them from you. He was to have gone at first a fifth part, but Sir Richard Scot dying shortly, a fourth. The adventure proved extremely to loss by Mr. Jackson's delays and bad returns, and by the casting away a ship at Wexford, loaden with wools and iron, and by the most ill mesnagery of those who were trusted by the other adventurers, and lastly by the change of the winds. The whole burden fell upon me, for when I was a prisoner in the Castle of Dublin [s], before I could be bailed, they caused me to take upon me the whole debt, seized upon the money they found in Mr. Tucker's hands, seized upon the rents of the Upper Fishing, which were behind for two years, stopped all the moneys that were due to me in disbursements, seized upon the produce of a whole year's adventure in Mr. Jackson's hands, and seized upon mine own fishings, which were £500. a year, which they, or I know not who, have held ever since: if it had been a business of advantage, he should surely have heard from me before this. I made a tedious and chargeable voyage into Spain, where I received some money from Mr. Jackson, and gave him acquittance for the same; and after a year or two my friend received other moneys from him, to whom I gave power to acquit him so much as he received, but not otherwise. The truth is, Mr. Jackson paid what he could, and when he would. But excepting a part of an account which he sent me into Ireland, he never did give me any account, nor ever would shew me an account untill this day, upon the pretence that I was but an adventurer. But you will find amongst my papers all Mr. Jackson's particular accounts, which I had from him, and Mr. Tucker's accounts, and Mr. Wandesforde's accounts. Preserve them *diligently*, and send me copies of them, and of mine own accounts, which are about the same business; and comparing those with what I have received since, or have here, I shall be able to lay the burthen on the right party,

[See Life, p. x. and Letter II.]

[See Life, p. xi. note P, and remarks at the end of note U.]

[s] ["In the Journal of the House of Commons I find a message to the Lords, that they would be pleased, in regard the Bishop of Derry lyeth so near the water, to appoint his Lordship a more secure lodging. 20 May, 1641. This must, I suppose, have been previous to his being lodged in the Castle." (Berwick).]

for I have found some of their accounts very different. Be sure you present unfeigned thanks and faithful service to that noble gentleman, and all his: depend upon his advice.

So God bless us!

Feb. $\frac{7}{17}$, $\frac{1658}{9}$.

[*No place mentioned.*]

[Rawdon Papers, No. xliii.]

LETTER IX.

From the same to the same.

JOHN,

I have received yours of April 3, but long after the date. Trust me it is not general petitions, but particular applications, that must do your work. I am right glad you have your uncle's deeds. Peruse them better, for I do not believe yet there is any covenant to release, but only a declaration of trust, which did not enable the nephew to sell or dispose. So as I believe all done in that kind to be void in law; you that have the means may satisfie yourself better upon the view of the deeds.

[viz. The *Defensio Populi Anglicani.*]

"That lying abusive book was written by Milton himself, one who was sometime Bishopp Chappell's[t] pupil in Christ Church[u] in Cambridge, but turned away by him, as he well deserved to have been both out of the University and out of the society of men. If Salmasius his friends knew as much of him as I, they would make him go near to hang himself. But I desire not to wound the nation through his sides, yet I have written to him long since about it roundly. It seems he desires not to touch upon that subject. That silly book which he ascribed to me, was written by one John Rowland, who since hath replied upon him. I never read either of the first book, or of the Reply, in my life."

[See Life, note U. p. xxxv.]

So God bless us!

Antwerpe,

May $\frac{9}{19}$, 1654.

[t] [At this time Provost of Trin. Coll. Dublin, and Bishop of Cork and Ross. He died in 1649.]

[u] [i. e. Christ's College. Bramhall it must be observed, is a *new* witness against Milton concerning the story here alluded to, the last sentence only of this letter having been communicated to Archdeacon Todd by Mr. Berwick.]

I answered whatever touched me in that pamphlet, of which there is not a true word.

JOHN PIERSON.

Thus superscribed:—

"To my very loving sonne Mr. John Pierson, at Ripon."

LETTER X.[v]

A Letter from the Right Reverend J. Bramhall, D.D. Bishop of Derry (afterwards Primate of Ireland) to the Most Reverend James Usher, Archbishop of Armagh.

MOST REVEREND,

I thank God, I do take my Pilgrimage patiently, yet I cannot but condole the change of the Church and State of England. And more in my Pilgrimage than ever, because I dare not witness and declare to that straying flock of our brethren in England, who have misled them and who they are that feed them. But that your Lordship may be more sensible of the Church's calamities, and of the dangers she is in of being ruin'd, if God be not merciful unto her, I have sent you a part of my discoveries, and it from credible hands, at this present having so sure a messenger and so fit an opportunity.

It plainly appears that in the year 1646, by order from Rome, above 100 of the Romish Clergy were sent into England, consisting of English, Scotch, and Irish, who had been educated in France, Italy, Germany, and Spain; part of these within the several schools there appointed for their instructions.

In each of these Romish nurseries, these scholars were taught several handicraft-trades and callings, as their ingenuities were most bending, besides their orders or functions of that Church.

[v] [From Parr's Life and Letters of Abp. Usher (printed in 1685), the first impression of which was seized by order of James II. on account of its insertion (Evelyn's Diary under the date of April 18, 1686). It was reprinted, with "Abp. Usher's Prophecy," and a letter of Sir Wm. Boswell on the same subject, in 1687, and again in the Harleian Miscellany (vol. vii. pp. 542, &c.).]

They have many yet at Paris a fitting to be sent over, who twice in the week oppose one the other; one pretending Presbytery, the other Independency; some Anabaptism and the others contrary tenents, dangerous and prejudicial to the Church of England, and to all the Reformed here abroad. But they are wisely preparing to prevent their designs, which I heartily wish were considered in England among the wise there.

When the Romish orders do thus argue pro and con, there is appointed one of the learned of those Convents to take notes and to judge: and as he finds their fancies, whether for Presbytery, Independency, Anabaptism, Atheism, or for any new tenents, so accordingly they be to act and to exercise their wits. Upon their permission when they be sent abroad, they enter their names in the Convent registry, also their Licences; if a Franciscan, if a Dominican, or Jesuit, or any other order, having several names there entered in their Licence; in case of a discovery in one place, then to fly to another and there to change their names or habit.

For an assurance of their constancy to their several orders, they are to give monthly intelligence to their Fraternities, of all affairs, wherever they be dispers'd: so that the English abroad know news better than ye at home.

When they return into England, they are taught their lesson, to say (if any enquire from whence they come) that they are poor Christians formerly that fled beyond sea for their religion' sake and are now returned, with glad news, to enjoy their liberty of conscience.

The 100 men that went over in 1646 were most of them soldiers in the Parliament's army, and were daily to correspond with those Romanists in our late King's army that were lately at Oxford, and pretended to fight for His Sacred Majesty: for at that time, there were some Roman Catholics who did not know the design a contriving against our Church and State of England.

But the year following, 1647, many of those Romish Orders who came over the year before, were in consultation together, knowing each other. And those of the King's party asking some why they took with the Parliament's side,

and asking others whether they were bewitched to turn Puritans, not knowing the design: but at last, secret Bulls and Licences being produced by those of the Parliament's side, it was declared between them, there was no better design to confound the Church of England than by pretending liberty of conscience. It was argued then that England would be a second Holland, a Commonwealth; and if so, what would become of the King? It was answered, Would to God it were come to that point. It was again replyed, yourselves have preached so much against Rome, and His Holiness, that Rome and her Romanists will be little the better for that change: but it was answered, You shall have Mass sufficient for a hundred thousand in a short space, and the governors never the wiser. Then some of the mercifullest of the Romanists said, This cannot be done unless the King die, upon which argument, the Romish Orders thus licenced, and in the Parliament Army, wrote unto their several Convents, but especially to the Sorbonists, whether it may be scrupled to make away our late Godly King and His Majesty his Son, our King and Master; who, blessed be God, hath escaped their Romish snares laid for him? It was returned from the Sorbonists that it was lawful for Roman Catholicks to work changes in Governments for the Mother Church's advancement, and chiefly in an heretical kingdom; and so lawfully make away the King [x].

Thus much to my knowledg, have I seen and heard since my leaving your Lordship, which I thought very requisite to inform your Grace: for myself would hardly have credited these things, had not mine eyes seen sure evidence of the same. Let these things sleep within your Gracious Lordship's brest, and not awake but upon sure grounds, for this age can trust no man, there being so great fallacy amongst men. So the Lord preserve your Lordship in health, for the nation's good, and the benefit of your friends: which shall be the prayers of

Your humble Servant,
J. DERENSIS.

July 20, 1654.

[*No place mentioned. Dr. Bramhall was at Brussels in Sept.* 1654 (*Thurloe's State Papers*, vol. ii. p. 601).]

[x] [The whole of Bramhall's statements in this letter may be seen in detail in P. Du Moulin's Vindication of the Protestant Religion, pp. 58, 60.]

LETTER XI.[y]

Bishop Bramhall's Letter to Dr. Bernard concerning the observation of the Lord's Day.

Sir,

I went yesterday to Leyden with Mr. Honnywood and Mr. Sancroft, to bring them so far on their way towards Utrecht; at my returne hither, I met with yours of Aug. $\frac{6}{16}$, wherein you desire my judgment concerning the Sabbath or Lord's day, which without any longe preface or needlesse circuit of words is briefly this: first, in the Sabbath or Lord's Day something is morall, that is, injoined by the law of nature; namely, that some time be set apart for the service of Almighty God. This is perpetuall and immutable, as being grounded upon the eternall law of Justice, and this the schooles use to call the substance of the commandement.

Secondly, something in the Sabbath is not morall, that is, not determined by the law of nature, but injoined by the positive Law of God or of the Church; as the time and place and other circumstances, which they call *modum sanctificandi*, or the manner of sanctifying the Sabbath. This is mutable and may be changed, so it be by those that have competent Authority to make such a change as is introduced. The manner of sanctifying the Sabbath with the time and many other circumstances was prescribed by God to the Jewes: yet not so precisely in all respects but that many things were left to the determination of the Jewish Church, as the formes of their hymns and prayers and thanksgivings. This manner of sanctifying the Sabbath as it was mutable in its owne nature, so it was actually changed, and particularly as to the circumstance of time from the seventh day to the first day of the weeke, either by Christ or

[y] [From Bp. Barlow's MSS. in the Library of Queen's Coll. Oxford, endorsed as above. It is apparently an extract only, and relates to the same controversy as Dr. Bramhall's Discourse upon the Sabbath and Lord's Day (See note U, p. xxxiii.), written about 1658, to which it seems to be a sequel. Bp. Barlow has given neither the time when nor the place whence it was written; but the former is fixed by the observation just made, and the latter appears from the first sentence of the letter itself to have been the Hague.]

by His Apostles inspired by the Holy Ghost: which is all one, whether Christ immediatly in His own person or mediatly by His Apostles inspired by His Spirit, did make this change.

The reason of this change was this, that as the celebration of Sunday being the first day of the creation, doth continue the memoriall of the creation as well as Satturday or the day after the creation, so likewise it is a memoriall of the great blessings which we received from Christ upon this day, upon a Sunday He was born for us, upon a Sunday He rose againe from the dead; upon a Sunday He sent the Holy Ghost; and the Primitive Christians had a tradition that upon a Sunday He should come againe to judge the quick and the dead: upon these grounds and especially in memory of the resurrection of Christ, being the new creation of the world; the Apostles by the command of Christ or by instinct of the Spirit did change the Sabbath from Satturday to Sunday. So we see there was a sufficient Authority and sufficient ground for doing of it. Two things onely remaine, one is to shew that the Apostles did change it; and the second, that this change is unalterable.

For the first, if there were no other proofes of it, yet the perpetuall and universall tradition of the Catholick Church, in all ages, in all places, is proofe sufficient. The Eastern, Western, Southern, and Northern Christians have all observed it from their first matriculation into Christianity. It is an undoubted rule, that whatsoever hath been observed every where, allwaies, and by all Christians, is of the Institution of Christ or of His Apostles; but the observation of the Lord's Day hath been universall amonge all Christians, and perpetuall longe before there were any generall Councells; of which uniforme and universall observation no man can imagin a reason but the command or direction of Christ or of His Apostles.

We find not onely the footsteps but evident proofes of this change in Holy Scripture; as where it is called expressly the Lord's Day as by a well-knowne name, Revel. 1. 10. And where it is related as a common duty or ordinary custome of the Primitive Christians to meet together upon Sunday or the "first day of the week" to heare the word preached, and

partieipate of the Saerament, Aets 20, 7: as likewise to make gatherings and collections for the poore as God had blessed their labours the foregoing week, 1 Cor. 16. 2. And that this "one day of the week" (accordinge to the Hebrew idiotisme) or this "first day of the week" was the Lord's Day or the day of the Lord's Resurrection, is prooved undeniable out of Mark 16, 2. To this all the Fathers of the first ages do beare witnesse unanimously.

So as there can be no doubt in the world but either that Christ or His Apostles, or Christ and His Apostles, He as principall Authour, they as His Ministers, did either change the Sabbath from Satturday to Sunday, or superadde Sunday to Satturday: but they did not adde Sunday to Satturday, that is, that both days should be observed, as is plaine out of St. Paul, Coll. 2. 16. "Let no man judge you in meat or drink, or in respect of a holyday, or of the new moons, or of the Sabbath dayes, which are a shadow of things to come, but the body is of Christ." The Ebionites were so offended with St. Paul for this manifest declaration of himselfe against the Jewish Sabbath, that they refused to admitt him. So the legall obligation to Satturday was ceased in St. Paul's days, although the free observation of it, as a day of gratitude to God, lasted long after in the Church for diverse weighty reasons. It is plain then Sunday was not superadded to Satturday: but the Sabbath changed from Satturday to Sunday: neither is it anythinge opposite to this change, that the Jewish Sabbath was to continue for ever, for that eternity was onely to be understood duringe the continuance of the Jewish Republick: and the Jewish Sabbath, for so far as it is morall, doth continue of time for ever in the Lord's Day. The onely doubt remaininge is whether the day may be changed. I answer No: for two reasons; first there can be no suffieient cause to [or?] ground of such a change to counterballance the resurrection of Christ, and new creation of the world and all those benefites we received from Christ upon this day. Secondly there can be no suffieient Authority to abrogate that which hath been instituted by Christ and His Apostles. But it may be objected that the Apostles as chiefe governors of the Church, did sometimes make prudentiall ordinances which were locall or temporary, and might

be antiquated in time or abrogated by the Church. I doe acknowledge it: but they were of another nature then this. This without all restriction of time or place, as appeareth by the perpetuall and universall tradition of the Catholick Church. Secondly I have shewed that Sunday was not superadded to Satturday as a new festivall, brought [z] into the Church in the place of Satturday; as we see by all those holy duties which were transferred from the one day to the other; and by the ceasing of the legall obligation to Satturday accordinge to St. Paule. So the Lord's Day doth succeed the Jewish Sabbath in the morall duty of that day which is eternall, and therefore the day ought to continue for ever, as the duty itselfe doth continue for ever, and as the Jewish Sabbath was to be eternall to the Jewes during the state of the Jewish Republick: so the Lord's Day as the Christian Sabbath ought to be eternall to Christians, during the Christian Republick. This is briefly and succinctly my sense.

LETTER XII.

[Rawdon Papers, No. xlvii.]

From the Lord Bishop of Derry to Mrs. Bramhall.

Sweet Heart,

When I came first to this city I thought I should have been dismissed within a fortnight. But this coming over of the Irish Commissioners, and the expectation of a settlement, have detained me thus long. They meet upon Wednesday next, and it is believed we shall have both a chief governour named, and council, and judges. This advantage I have made of my stay to settle all my temporals, and I hope John Forward's also, for so they promise me. Audley Mervine [a] hath disclaimed fourteen town-lands, and writes down to the present tenants to decline possession. Mr. Roberts acknow-

[See Life, p. xi, note a.]

[z] [Dr. Bramhall apparently intended to write "*but* brought" &c.]

[a] ["He was afterwards appointed Speaker" of the Irish House of Commons "in the first Parliament summoned after the Restoration" (Berwick). See also note T, p. xxv, and the Archbishop's will, below No. XVI.]

ledgeth that he hath no right to Milough, and I am not out of hopes to get some reparation for want of it so long. Upon Monday sevenight I purpose to begin my voyage, and Sir James Graham [b] with me, with my son Thomas. My Lady of Ormond is now here. Salute all my friends. Tell Mr. Holmes, if he will, he shall go along with me. My blessings on my daughters. So God bless us all!

Your very loving husband,

JO. DERENSIS.

London,
July 7, 1660.

Thus superscribed:—

"To my dearest wyfe Mrs. Elenour Bramhall in Yorkshire, at Ripon."

LETTER XIII. [c]

The Petition of the Clergy of Ireland to Charles II., to be presented to his Majesty by the Duke of Ormond, then Lord Lieutenant.

[See Life, p. xiii, and Letters, No. XV.]

May it please your Excellency,

The Bishops here residing have thought fit to present the inclosed Petition to his Majesty. It was occasioned by a letter of my Lord elect Bishop of Cork to me [d]; there is nothing in it which they are not both able and ready to justify. Since it was subscribed, we have received a copy of his Majesty's gracious letter of November 20th, touching the settling of impropriations, tithes formerly invested in the Crown, or forfeited lands, which were held of the Church upon the Bishops or churches of which they were held. By the grace of God we shall mesnage his Majesty's bounty with as much prudence and advantage to him and his subjects as is possible. These were the main requests we had to make

[b] [His son-in-law.]

[c] [Rawdon Papers, No. xlviii. See Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, bk. vi. vol. ii. pp. 210, &c.]

[d] [Michael Boyle, Dean of Cloyne, afterwards Archbishop successively of Dublin and Armagh.]

by our agents. They will admit little debate, being of lesser moment, as the union of lesser benefices to make a competeney: some little glebes where there are none, one free school to be erected in every diocess where there is not one already; and lastly, one uniform table of tything to be established throughout the kingdom. Now the main requests being granted already, whether it will be needful to send agents for the rest I leave to your Lordship's prudence. One Bishop and one Clerk were designed; either my Lord Elect of Down[e], or of Cork, for the Bishops, and either Dr. Loftus or Mr. Underwood for the Clerks. They have one request more, that in respect benefices are of so small value for the present, and their churches and houses almost all down, that as in like cases hath been used, his Majesty would be graciously pleased to remit the first-fruits of such persons as now so shall be admitted to any livings or promotions from the beginning of the Rebellion until the feast of the Nativity of Christ, which shall be in the year of our Lord 1661, that is, for one year yet to come; and in lieu thereof, they do assent to settle an equal and perfect tax (which hitherto hath been neither equal nor perfect) of all ecclesiastical benefices and dignities throughout the kingdom, to the great increase of his Majesty's revenue, in his twentieth parts and in his first-fruits. This much I dare undertake, that the Crown shall be a great gainer by this, I had almost said, now necessary favour. These things are but barely proposed; and if there be any of them which do not relish well, upon the least intimation they shall be quickly expunged. Your Excellency seeth that the Clergy of Ireland know no mediator to his Majesty but yourself. You will scarcely find a staff so hard wherewith to drive them from you. Sir James Graham lives in hopes until he receives his doom. That you may live long, and give much, and die holy, and inherit Heaven, is the Dutch proverb, and our prayer. So God bless us!

Your Excellency's most humble
and most faithful servant,

JO. DERENSIS,
Elect. Armach.

[e] [Jeremy Taylor.]

May it please your Majesty—

Your orthodox Clergy throughout Ireland have taken the boldness to present unto you their unanimous request by the Bishops now resident in Dublin, and craved your Royal licence for two agents from them to come over and represent the low state of the Irish Church, and such means as seem to them conducible to the happy and peaceable settlement thereof. Since that petition was signed, they have received a copy of your gracious letter of November 20th, wherein you have both satisfied their present, and prevented their further, desires; for how can they fear, lest you should suffer them to be stripped of their present livelihoods, who have of your free bounty inlarged their means out of your own just rights to enable them to serve God and His Church and your Majesty with most comfort. For this singular grace they have enjoined me to present their most humble thanks, and to acknowledge that they deserve to be branded with the highest note of extreme ingratitude, if they should cease to praise God for you, and to pour out their daily prayers to the throne of Grace for your long life and prosperous reign over them, and to do their uttermost endeavours that, under the shadow of your wings, your subjects may lead a quiet and peaceable life in all godliness and honesty.

Your Majesty's most humble
and faithful subject,

JO. DERENSIS,
Electus Armachanus.

Dublin,
December 5, 1660.

[Rawdon Papers, No. lxii.]

LETTER XIV.

From the Lord Primate to Sir Edward Nicholas, Secretary of State.

Honourable Sir,

I am commanded[f] by the House of Peers to make known unto your honor, that they have named four of their mem-

[f] [As Speaker of the House of Lords.]

bers to be their Agents[g], to attend his sacred Majesty in England, for the good of this Church and Kingdom, to continue there so long as his Majesty shall license them, and the House shall judge expedient, which they do therefore represent, that no other person or persons may pretend themselves to be qualified as agent or agents to negociate public affairs in the name of this Kingdom, except such others as shall be employed into England for that purpose, by the Right Honorable the Lords Justices and Council, the House of Convocation, and the House of Commons, in their several and distinct capacities; which being all that is commanded me by the House, I crave leave to subscribe,

Your Honor's most humble
and obedient servant,
JO. ARMACHANUS.

Dublin,
July the 10*th*, 1661.

LETTER XV.

[Rawdon Papers, No. lxxiv.]

The following Letter of Primate Bramhall to Charles II. is transcribed from a true copy taken by John Coghill.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR MAJESTY,

The Church of Ireland, now humble suitors unto you for the remission of their twentieth parts and first-fruits for the time past, which request your Majesty, by the mediation of my Lord Steward, was graciously pleased to grant. And truly it was absolutely necessary that it should be so; first in justice, for they have received nothing out of those dignities and benefices which they hold in title only, for these twenty years past, and if they had received any thing, yet few or none of them are able to pay any thing at this time without their utter ruin; and "where nothing is to be had, even kings lose their rights."

[The Duke of Ormond.]

[g] ["Earls of Kildare and Mount-Alexander, John Lord Bishop of Elphin, and Lord Kingston, to attend his Majesty in England as Lords Commissioners, 31 July, 1661." Journals of the House of Lords, quoted by Berwick.]

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And yet, because they are not willing to receive this great benefit to themselves with any prejudice to your Majesty, or the least diminution of your revenue, they offered by me to settle an equal and universal tax of all ecclesiastical preferments throughout Ireland, whereas now some few of them are over-taxed, a great many of them are altogether untaxed, and the most of them are ludicrously taxed, so as to make them liable to the name of twentieth parts, but rarely to first-fruits. I am very confident that such an equal and universal tax as is offered by them, will double or treble your Majesty's ecclesiastical revenue every way, in twentieth parts, in first-fruits, in subsidies. If your Majesty be pleased to impose the care of this great work upon me in a regal visitation[h], I will charge or burthen no man but myself in the execution thereof. I hope to make you such a tax by consent, without any noise or opposition, and to settle an exact list of all patronages of the Crown, which are now smothered, and in a great part usurped, than which nothing concerns your Majesty more, to maintain and preserve the dependance of your subjects upon yourself; the clergy depending much upon their patron, and the people upon the clergy. And lastly, I doubt not but to make a perfect rentall of all such impropriations as have either in former times by your Royal father been bestowed upon the Church, or by your Majesty's own grace and bounty are now to be restored to the Church, so as the ancient revenues of your Crown shall be upheld, and your Exchequer sustain no prejudice. But if your Majesty in your high prudence shall think any other course fitter for effecting this design, I do humbly submit, and shall most readily be subservient in any way which your Majesty shall approve.

Now I beseech your Majesty to give me leave to add a word or two in the behalf of Sir James Graham, whose near relation to me will excuse what I say, whilst I contain myself (which I hope both he and I shall always do) within the bounds of modesty.

He seeth your Majesty's bounties thrown abroad, like medals at a coronation, for those that can catch them, and

[h] [See Life, p. xiii., and Letter XIII; and, for a full account and discussion of the Archbishop's projects here mentioned, the concluding pages of Dr. Vesey's Life.]

whilst you are doing good to your persecutors, he takes the boldness (with the good thief on the Cross) to step in for himself, "Lord, remember me." If his suffering hath been more than his acting, it was for want of power, not of loyal duty, wherein he hopeth evermore to approve himself an equal to the best of your subjects. The Lords Justices here do approve him, and have twice recommended him into England for some preferment. And it is, if not a blemish, yet some little shame unto him to see others of his countrymen daily receive marks of your Royal favour, and himself to miss them, either by his misfortune, or, if he should still be silent untill the whole act be concluded, by his supine negligence. I am confident he will offer nothing to your Majesty which may in the least degree intrench either upon your honor or your interest, or your engagements. So I submit him and his request to your Majesty's grace, and myself to your pardon for this presumption; and for conclusion, beg this further favour for him, that your Majesty will grant him a speedy dispatch, that he may haste back hither to serve you in this approaching Parliament[i].

God preserve your Majesty long in health and happiness, for the welfare of your kingdom and the good of this Church, which is the incessant prayer of your Majesty's

Most loyal and obedient
subject and servant,
JO. ARMACHANUS.

[*No date.*]
Vera copia, per me, John Coghill.

LETTER XVI.[k]

The last Will and Testament of Abp. Bramhall.

In the Name of God—Amen. I, John, Lord Archbishop of Armagh, Primate and Metropolitan of all Ireland, being of perfect sense and memory, blessed be Almighty God, doe in

[i] ["Sir James Graham sat for the borough of Armagh in the Parliament which met in Dublin in May, 1661" (Berwick).]

[k] [From the Introduction to the Rawd. Papers, pp. 4—11, the original being in the possession of the Marquis of Hastings.]

And yet, because they are not willing to receive this great benefit to themselves with any prejudice to your Majesty, or the least diminution of your revenue, they offered by me to settle an equal and universal tax of all ecclesiastical preferments throughout Ireland, whereas now some few of them are over-taxed, a great many of them are altogether untaxed, and the most of them are ludicrously taxed, so as to make them liable to the name of twentieth parts, but rarely to first-fruits. I am very confident that such an equal and universal tax as is offered by them, will double or treble your Majesty's ecclesiastical revenue every way, in twentieth parts, in first-fruits, in subsidies. If your Majesty be pleased to impose the care of this great work upon me in a regal visitation[h], I will charge or burthen no man but myself in the execution thereof. I hope to make you such a tax by consent, without any noise or opposition, and to settle an exact list of all patronages of the Crown, which are now smothered, and in a great part usurped, than which nothing concerns your Majesty more, to maintain and preserve the dependance of your subjects upon yourself; the clergy depending much upon their patron, and the people upon the clergy. And lastly, I doubt not but to make a perfect rentall of all such impropriations as have either in former times by your Royal father been bestowed upon the Church, or by your Majesty's own grace and bounty are now to be restored to the Church, so as the ancient revenues of your Crown shall be upheld, and your Exchequer sustain no prejudice. But if your Majesty in your high prudence shall think any other course fitter for effecting this design, I do humbly submit, and shall most readily be subservient in any way which your Majesty shall approve.

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the first place render unto His Divine Majestie my humble and hearty thanks, that He hath permitted me with mine own eyes to see His salvation, and the restitution of his sacred Majestie to his Royall Crown, and the Church of England to its former glory, than which I doe not believe that the whole world hath any Church that cometh nearer to Apostolical truth, both in doctrine and discipline. And I doe heartily praise God That ordained me to be born and bred up in it, and pray that I may end my days in the communion of it. And, withal, considering with myself the certainty of my dissolution, but the uncertainty of the hour in which it shall please God to call me; and weighing with myself that I approach to that time which is the ordinary period of man's life, three score years and ten; and being not unmindful of mine own paralytical infirmities, as having seen the walls of my body moulder away by degrees; I doe, with all humblenesse and resignation of myself, make this my last will and testament.

In the first place I render up my soul into the hands of God, That gave it, humbly beseeching Him, for Christ Jesus my Saviour's sake, that He will vouchsafe to accept it, notwithstanding all my frailties and infirmities, into His celestial habitation, which He hath prepared for His faithful servants. Next, I do bequeath my body to the earth of which it was composed, to be interred with Christian decencie, without worldly pomp, so far forth as it may be conveniently avoided, either in the Parochial Church of St. Peter's, Droghedah, or in the Cathedral Church of St. Patrick, at Armagh, at the discretion of my heir and executor hereinafter mentioned. Item, I will, and my will is, that so many blacke freeze gownds shall be bestowed upon poor men and poor women, as will make up the number of my years which I have lived in this transitory life, and such other acts of charity performed as I shall give directions to my heir. And although I cannot in present settle such a course as I would towards the reparation of the Cathedral Church of St. Patrick's, Armagh, and the Parochial Church of St. Peter's, Droghedah; yet it is my firm purpose and resolution not to be wanting to either of them, so long as God permits me to live in this world; and when I have more opportunity to advise

with my friends, to prescribe some course for the accomplishing of that pious worke. Item, I will, and my will is, that the summe of five hundred pounds out of the arrears of rent due to me out of the Bishoprieke of Derry, be given towards the reparation of the said two churches, over and above those summes which I shall bestow upon them in my life-time. And although I found all the churches and mansion-houses belonging to my See either ruined or inclining to ruin, yet I have, as the time would give me leave, repayred the house at Drogheda, and provided timber for the house at Termon-feekan[1], with a full purpose, if God lend me life until I am able to finish it, to build up the said house, and to inclose it with a Parke for my succcessor; and if it please God to take me away before I have finished this intention, it is my will, that all the timber, iron, boards, and other materials, which I have prepared towards it, be given to my successor towards the perfecting the work. Item, I doe further give unto my said succcessor the hangings of the Presence Chamber, and all the chairs and stools and tables in it, and all the ranges throughout the house where I found not one. Item, my will is, that all my waged servants shall be kept together in my last-mentioned house for three months after my death in decent sorte, thereby to inable them to provide for themselves in other service; and at their departure they shall have each of them a year's wages, as a token of my love to them, and mindfulnesse of them. Item, I will, and my will is, and I do hereby strictly injoyne my heir and exceutor, here under-named, to satisfie and pay all the just debts which I shall owe at the time of my death, whether they were due by bill, bond, or otherwise, and with that speed and satisfaction to my creditors as my estate shall be able to bear; and that the articles made between me and Mr. Bulkely, Archdeacon of Dublin, shall be made good for a rent-charge, to be paid him out of my manour of Belgree, untill my heir and exceutor shall provide for him another inheritance, or another rent-charge of equal value to that

[1] ["Termon-feckin, or Terfeckan," from whence Usher dates a letter to Bp. Bramhall, Aug. 10, 1639 (Rawd. Papers, No. xxiii.), is "a palace belonging to the See of Armagh; it is in the county of Lowth, Barony of Ferrard, and about three miles and a half from Drogheda. Usher was the last Primate who made it his residence." Rawd. Papers, p. 61. note.]

which he now holds. Provided, nevertheless, that this my intention shall no further bind my heir and executor than I shall give warrant for by another codicill; because, it is my meaning to see what use Mr. Bulkely, Archdeacon of Dublin, did intend or desire to make of the power usurped from his Majesty, to the prejudice of me and my heirs. Item, I will, and my will is, that my dear wife, Ellinor Bramhall, shall have and enjoy to her proper use and behoofe, for her life, all my plate and household stuffe and utensils, which are not otherwise disposed of by this my will, free from, and discharged of all debts, and other incumbrances whatsoever; and after her death, it is my further will, that the same be equally divided amongst my three daughters, if they be living at the time of her death, or such of them as are then living. Item, I doe devise and bequeath unto my son and heir apparent, Sir Thomas Bramhall, Barronett, and the heirs male of his body issuing, all my proper and personall acquisitions, and all those my manours, towns, lands, and hereditaments, of and in Castletown, Moylagh, and elsewhere, in the county of Meath, with all the appurtenances, and particularly some lands in the county of Meath, which I purchased jointly with Robert Maude, Esq., and such other lands as I purchased of Mr. Cowse and Mr. Roberts in the manour of Moylagh, and of and in the manour of Belgree, in the County of Dublin, or Meath, or both of them; and of and in the manour of the Omagh, as well those lands which are now possessed by me, as those lands which are held unjustly from me by Sir Audley Mervin, which nothing withholds me from recovering but his present priviledge [m] only; and all my other lands in the County of Tyrone, which are likewise held from me unjustly by the said Sir Audley Mervin; the remainder thereof to the heirs of my body issuing, the remainder thereof to my right heirs for ever; charged, nevertheless, with one yearly rent-charge or annual summe of two hundred and fifty pounds sterling, with power to distrain as aforesaid; [which] I doe hereby devise and bequeath unto my said wife during her life, in lieu, recompense, and full satisfaction of all dowers or thirds which she may challenge or demand out of my estate, either real or personal, other than what I have herein before

[m] [He was Speaker of the Irish House of Commons.]

devised to her. Provided, always, that he my said son shall marry with the consent of such overseers as I shall hereafter name in this my last will and testament. Item, I do hereby devise and bequeath unto my loving son-in-law, Sir James Graham, Knight, and my eldest daughter Isabella Graham, alias Bramhall, his wife, the summe of seven hundred pounds ster., which with other moneys he hath already received, and other advantages conferred on him, I hope will abundantly satisfie him for his wife's portion. Item, I do hereby devise and bequeath unto my two younger daughters Jane and Anne, all my estate in the lease of Drumragh, in the County of Tyrone, which I purchased of the two Lady Leighs long since; and likewise whatsoever other leases I have in the County of Donnegal, which I bestow upon them for their maintenance untill they be better provided for. Item, I doe further hereby devise and bequeath unto my said second daughter, Jane Bramhall, for her marriage portion the sum of £1500 ster. payable upon her marriage; and I do likewise devise and bequeath the like marriage portion of £1500 ster. unto my third daughter Anne Bramhall, payable likewise upon the day of her marriage. And I do further will, and my will is, that each of my said daughters unmarried shall have £20 a piece yearly, for their respective maintenance, from my said heir, untill their respective marriages; and in case either of my said daughters unmarried die before marriage, in such case, that the portion of the daughter so dying before marriage shall be divided between the surviving daughters; and forasmuch as I have left my son, Thomas Bramhall, an estate able to bear it, and he is not yet married, it is my meaning and my will, that as well his wife's portion, as all my real estate, be chargeable with the said portions to be raised to my two daughters. Item, the better to inable my son, Thomas Bramhall, to satisfie the said debts and portions, I will, and my will is, that the said Thomas Bramhall, his heirs and assigns, shall have and enjoy all the lands and hereditaments which his Majestie will be graciously pleased to bestow upon me, in consideration of my great losses sustained in the late, or as a bounty for my services as Speaker of the House of Peers in this present, Parliament. Item, I do hereby constitute and appoint my said son, Thomas Bramhall,

during his life, my sole executor of this my last will and testament; and from and after his death, I doe constitute and appoint the heirs of his body lawfully begotten executors of my said will; and for want of such heirs, I doe constitute and appoint my said son-in-law Sir James Graham and my said three daughters executors of this my will. Item, I will, and my will is, that my said executor or executors respectively, shall and may recover, have, and enjoy, all the arrears of rent due unto me out of my late Bishopricke of Derry, out of which I was wrongfully expelled for twenty years and more, which remains due unto me in law and conscience. Yet, nevertheless, my will is, that moderation be used in exacting the said arrears; and that no person be compelled to pay more than three years' rent at the highest; and that those whose lands were not planted till of late be yet more favourably used, if they do not prove obstinate to oppose my right, which is undeniable. Lastly, according to my expectation and confidence in my said wife and children, I doe pray, and as much as in me lyeth enjoyne them, to observe all acts of love one to another, and to avoid all unnatural suites and contentions, and to rest satisfied with this my will, according to the purport thereof, and my true meaning therein declared as aforesaid. And I doe hereby constitute the Most Honorable, and my singular good Lord, His Grace James Duke of Ormond, Lord Lieutenant-General of Ireland, and the Right Honorable the Earl of Orrery, supervisors of this my last will and testament; and intreat them to accept of two Rings, such as my Executor shall present to them, in remembrance of that love and duty which I ought unto them. As witness my hand and seal, this fifth day of January, 1662. [i.e. 166$\frac{2}{3}$.]

JO. ARMACHANUS.

Signed and sealed and published in the presence of
Ja. Grahame and John Coghill.

LETTER XVII.

Extract from the Acts[n] *of the Convocation of the Irish Church in* 1661, *containing its 'Public and Solemn Recognition' of Archbishop Bramhall's services.* [See Life, p. xii. note g.]

Decimo tertio Die Julij 1661°.

(After granting a subsidy, the Convocation proceeds as follows:—)

"Deinde hæc Sancta Synodus, apud se reputans Ecclesiam Hiberniæam, supra quam dici potest, jam olim magna et nuper nova variis et magnis incrementis aucta beneficia nactam esse, a mirificâ in eam beneficentiâ Reverendissimi in

[n] [After the preceding pages were in print, the extract above given from the Acts of the Irish Convocation of 1661, hitherto supposed to be lost, has been received through the kindness of Dr. Todd of Dublin. It is taken from the MSS. of Archbishop King recently purchased by Trinity College, Dublin, and deposited in their library.

The kindness of the same gentleman has supplied the Editor with some further information relative to Archbishop Bramhall, which it is hoped may be allowably inserted in this place. The figures refer to the pages of the Life, to which the information in each case relates.

"p. iv. line 4. Mr. Wandesforde first presented Mr. Bramhall to the School of Kilburne by Thirsk, near Kirklington, in Yorkshire. See Comber's Life of Wandesforde, p. 83.

p. vi. l. 2. Dr. Bramhall obtained the Archdeaconry of Meath by patent dated 4th March, 9 Car. I., i. e. 163$\frac{3}{4}$ (Rolls, 9 Car. I. 3rd pt. f).

ibid. l. 18. He was promoted to the Bishopric of Londonderry by warrant under Privy Seal dated at Westminster 9th May (1634), patent at Dublin 24th May (of the same year), and writ of restitution and mandate of consecration of the same date (Rolls, 10 Car. I. 2nd pt. f).

p. vii. l. 20. It appears by Bishop Downham's Visitation book in the library of Trin. Coll. Dublin, that in 1622 'the Cathedral church of St. Columb at Derry had not so much as any ruins left, neither was there any other Cathedral or parish church built instead thereof within the city of Londonderry.' In 1634 the King granted a licence to the Society of the Governors and Assistants of London of the new plantation in Ulster 'to alien in mortmain to Bishop Bramhall, and his successors, the church or fabric of a church lately built in Derry, together with a chancell, a library, a vestry-house, and tower, belonging to the same, and also a church-yard and place of burial lying about the same, to the end they might be consecrated and dedicated to the service of God; to have and to hold to the Bishop, and his successors, in frank-almoyne,' together with a clause for the use of the inhabitants and of the parish of Derry alias Templemore (Rolls, 10 Car. I. 1st pt. d). The Cathedral was finished in 1633, and a stone placed over the door with the following inscription,—

ANO. DO. 1633	IN. TEMPLO. VERVS. DEVS. EST. VERE. Q: CLEMENS.	CAR. REGIS. 9.
JF . STONES . COVLD . SPEAKE.		
THEN . LONDONS . PRAYSE .		
SHOVLDE . SOVNDE . WHO .		
BVILT . THIS . CHVRCH . AND .		
CITTIE . FROM . THE . GROVNDE.		

See a view of the Cathedral as then built, and a facsimile of this inscription, in the Ordnance Memoir of the parish of Templemore, pp. 102, 103. Dubl. 4to. 1837.

p. viii. l. 17. Aug. 4, 1637, Bp. Bramhall had a grant of lands in the Co. Tyrone to him and his successors from the Crown (Rolls, 13 Car. I. 4th pt. f).]

Christo Patris, Johannis providentiâ divinâ Archiepiscopi Armachani, Primatis et Metropolitani totius Hiberniæ, hujusque Synodi præsidis, nihilque se hactenus gratitudinis ei publice rependisse, nunc vero officii sui memor, et debiti quo eminentissime suæ paternitati diu obstricta est, moram dilatæ solutionis diutiorem facere non potuit, et propterea in fidem majoris quam sibi debet obsequii, et ut gesta sua, egregia et singularia, omnium sermone perpetuo celebrentur, et ut nulla unquam ætas de suis laudibus conticescat, statuit et decrevit, publicam et solennem câ ex parte in Scriptis fieri recognitionem, non ut obligationi quâ est beneficentiæ suæ devincta ullâ ratione satisfaciat, sed potius ut debitam magnitudinem non dissimulans se non esse solvendo ac perpetuo debituram libere profiteretur. Reverendis igitur in Christo patribus et Episcopis, Johanni Clogherensi, Jeremiæ Duncnsi, et Georgio Derensi, istius recognitionis in scriptis confectionc[m] commiscrunt; et ut pratiorcs essent hanc rem ipsis commissam

[John Leslie, Jer. Taylor, and George Wild.]

p. xii. l. 3. He was appointed Archbishop of Armagh by warrant under Privy Seal dated 1st Aug. (1660) at Whitehall, with a grant of the mesne profits from the date thereof (Rot. pat. Canc., 12 Car. II. 2nd pt. f); by patent dated 18th. January (166$\frac{0}{1}$), and writ of restitution dated the same day (Rot. ut supra, dorso).

p. xix. note l. A much better reason can be given for the Calvinistic turn of the Irish Articles than that assigned by Dr. Vesey: for many divines, who were troublesome in England from Puritanical opinions, were provided for in the Irish Church to get them out of the way; for example, Travers the opponent of Hooker was made Provost of Trinity College, and thus the Church corrupted at the fountain head. See Neal's Hist. of the Puritans, Brooke's Puritans, and Reid's Hist. of the Presbyterians, for the way in which the Irish Church was deluged with Puritanism."

Through the same channel the Editor has been enabled also to procure a copy of Dr. Loftus's Funeral Oration, mentioned in p. iii.; of which the title is as follows,—"*Oratio Funebris, habita post Exuvias Nuperi Reverendissimi in Christo Patris Johannis Archiepiscopi Armachani, Totius Hiberniæ Primatis et Metropolitani, terræ mandatas XVI. Die Julii* 1663, *in Ecclesiâ Cathedrali Ss. et Individuæ Trinitatis Dublin. Quam effudit Dudleius Loftusius J. U. D. Vic. Gen. Arm. Dublinii MDCLXIII.*" It contains a highly eulogistic sketch of the Primate's life and character, written however with a greater appearance of reality and in a more impartial tone than might be expected in such a composition; but the portrait which it draws is so entirely identical, not only in the main outlines but even in the more minute features, with that presented in Bp. Taylor's Sermon, as to render it superfluous to give both to the reader. For minor details in matters of fact, it appears from this 'Oration' (p. 4), that Bramhall (who went to Cambridge in 1608) was, at the time of his going to the University, in his 16th year, and at the time of his death (June 25, 1663) 'not quite 70,'—whence it would follow that he was *not* born later than 1593 (see Life, p. iii. note a). It appears by the parish register of Pontefract, that "John, the son of Peter Bramhall, was *baptized* the 18th day of Nov. 1594." Dr. Loftus also informs us that the Archbishop had been forty-five years married at the time of his death (consequently that he married in 1618), and that he had in all *six* children, although only four survived him (p. 32). He has fallen however into the same error with Jer. Taylor (see above, p. lviii), in stating (p. 6) that Dr. Bramhall's disputation at Northallerton was with *three Jesuits*.]

aggredi, et feliciori nisu absolvere, multiplices ejus virtutes, quibuscum agendarum rerum experientiæ consuetudo multorum annorum quam habuit cum hâc Ecclesiâ ac in omni vitâ prudentia conjuncta esset, recitarunt, dixeruntque nihil Reverendissimæ paternitati suæ unquam defuisse in rebus Ecclesiæ procurandis, et promovendis, vel ex prudentiâ, vel ex diligentiâ, vel ex fide requisitum, et in Ecclesiasticæ disciplinæ administratione tam exactam justitiæ normam eum semper esse secutum ut nulla sive præmio virtus nullum sive pœnâ crimen in suâ Diocesi vel Provinciâ relinquebatur. Dixerunt etiam se non minus labentem ac prope cadentem Ecclesiæ disciplinam prudentiâ suâ sustinuisse quam ejus redditus et proventus suâ industriâ promovisse; posteriori enim in re nulli corporis labori nulli animi cautioni pepercit, unde fuit quod annui dictæ Ecclesiæ redditus aucti erant ad quadraginta millia librarum supra antiquum eorundem valorem; in prior: vero, id est Ecclesiasticam disciplinam, tanto exarsit desiderio, ut in eo omnes suas curas et cogitationes defigebat, unde fuit, quod Canones et Constitutiones Ecclesiasticæ, ipsius præcipue mediante labore, anno Domini 1634, editæ sunt, quibuscum clcri universi luxuriæ, cupiditati, atque licentiæ, frænum quod facile excuti non posset vinciebat. Tunc etiam significatum est dictis Reverendis Patribus, quâ mente semper fuit in eos qui labe Symoniacæ pravitatis infecti sunt, et quomodo in eos exercuit Canonicæ severitatis ultionem; etiam si enim, inter veniente pecuniâ, frequenter beneficia Ecclesiastica fuerant acquisita ante primum ejus in Hiberniam adventum, ille tamen edoctus non minus e Sacris Literis quam Decretalibus Gregorii Epistolis et Sexto, quod simoniaca pestis sui magnitudine alios morbos vincit, sine dilatione, mox ut ejus signa per aliquam personam claruerunt, de Ecclesiâ Dei eam eliminavit et e gratiæ suæ benignitate repulit. Tunc etiam dictum fuit, laboriosam negotiorum molem Reverendissimæ suæ paternitati nunc temporis incumbentem tam gravem esse quod omnem posteritatis fidem superaret, post enim felicem et diu exoptatum ejus in Hiberniam nuper reditum hanc Ecclesiam longe alienam a pristino suo statu invenit; alios enim cæcis erroribus captos, alios tetræ hæreseos labe infectos, alios fœdâ schismatis contagione laborantes, ex iniquo superstitionis errorisque mancipio liberare et ad Ec-

clesiæ gremium traducere habet: quibus in rebus tantum in dies insudat, ut inde in fastigium spe nostrâ erectâ expectandum est, quod eminentiæ suis auspiciis jactata hæc diu agitata et ferè aquis immersa Ecclesia revivescat, consistat, et plane acquiescat[o]. Desideravit denique dicta Synodus ab imis cordis visceribus, ut istum Reverendissimum patrem qui in tantum auxit, sublimuit, profuit, et præfuit huic Ecclesiæ, cum incolumem conservat Deus, ut diutissime iidem prosit et præsit, et ut ipse qui semel, Deo adjutore, a lateribus ad marmora traduxit Hiberniæ Ecclesiæ ædificium, idem nuper fere dilapidatum, a marmoribus ad aurum sanctiore ædificatione traducat, in solidum et splendidissimum pietatis suæ monumentum et æternam Dei gloriam."—

LETTER XVIII.

From the Bishop of Derry to Sir Richard Browne, Ambassador of King Charles II. at Paris[p].

Sir,

I humbly thanke you for your last great favour. I am mightily ashamed to be so burthensome to my friends, and [Life, p. x.] as low as my condition is would be extremely glad to meete with any opportunity which might render me so happy as to be able to make some kind of acknowledgment. I beseech you be pleased to favour me with the conveiance of the

[o] [Dr. Bramhall seems to have been consulted in the affairs of the English Church as well as of the Irish, although in both instances he failed of success in the measures which he proposed. It appears from a letter of Lord Clarendon to Dean Barwick (Life of Barwick, p. 424), dated Brussels, July 8, 1659, that, upon a difficulty arising in the appointment of English Bishops at the Restoration through the want of Deans and Chapters, Dr. Bramhall, while he "seemed to wish the adoption of the Irish way" of election (viz. by patent from the Crown) in England also, urged the removal of the immediate obstacle by consecrating Bishops "to the void Sees in Ireland, and thence removing them to others in England."]

[p] [The original of this letter is in the possession of Mr. Upcott, who has kindly allowed it to be here published. Unfortunately it was not received until too late for insertion in its proper place, viz. between Letters VI. and VII. It is endorsed by Sir Richard Browne (the father-in-law of John Evelyn) as "from the Bishop of Derry, 30th June 1646," and is addressed "A Monsieur Monsieur Le Chevalier Browne, Resident du Roy de la Grande Bretaigne, A Paris." Under the signature is written in the handwriting of Evelyn, "The learned Bip. Bramhall: after the K-gs restaur. Primate of Ireland."]

enclosed to Mr. Bough and to preserve his answer for me untill you heare where I am settled, which I thinke for some short while will be at Liege. I expect no more letters out of Spaine[q]. The onely satisfaction which I have there is that I must expect none untill the [leases proove clearer[r].] He writes to me that by September he may know a certainty of it. And God bless him from the Jesuits. And I say God bless me from so much cunning and unthankfullness as I have mett w^th^ in this business.

I beseech you present my humble respects to my good Lady and your pretty daughters[s]. So God Allmighty bless us.

Your most faithfull, and assured servante,

JOH. DERENSIS.

June 30, 1646.

[*No place named. Bramhall's usual residence during the time was at Antwerp.*]

I write no newes hence because I dare not putt my sickle into my good neighbours' affaires.

[q] [See Life p. xi. note P. p. xxii. Remarks at the end of note U. p. xxxvi. and Letter II.]

[r] [This clause is almost illegible in the original, the ink being pale, and the handwriting bad, but the characters seem most nearly to resemble the words above given.]

[s] [Afterwards the wife of Evelyn.]

ΤΗΟΜΝΗΜΟΝΕΤΜΑ.

POSITO QUOD HABEBAT MORTALE,
DIERUM AC FAMÆ SATUR,
ÆVUM AGIT IN GLORIA
JOANNES BRAMHALLUS,
IN THEOLOGIA PROFESSOR SIMUL ET PRIMAS;
QUI STRAFFORDIO DEBUIT
QUOD DERRENSIS SEDIS FACTUS SIT ORNAMENTUM,
CAROLO, QUOD ARMACHANÆ DECUS,
AT SIBI QUOD UTRAMQUE DIGNITATEM ET MERUIT ET AUXIT.
VERÆ RELIGIONIS IN HIBERNIA
ERAT ET SACERDOS, ET SACRIFICIUM, SED ET STATOR.
SUB EJUS AUSPICIIS TAM FÆLICITER MILITAVIT ECCLESIA,
UT VEL HIC TRIUMPHANTEM FACILE DIXERIS.
CIVILES INTER DISCORDIAS,
PROSPERO REGNI PRINCIPISQUE STATU
DEIQUE CULTU UNA COLLAPSIS,
IPSE ETIAM CECIDIT
(NEQUE ENIM ALITER POTUIT PERIRE):
CUM IIS RESURREXIT, CUM IISDEM VICTURUS,
QUAM DIU VEL MONARCHIA VEL PIETAS FUTURÆ SINT SUPERSTITES:
PŒNAS A REBELLIBUS SUBIIT, SED INVIDIA DIGNAS:
HONORE PLECTEBATUR, OSTRACISMO INSIGNITUS,
DUM IN ILLO ECCLESIA ANGLICANA VEL EXULARET VEL PEREGRINARETUR.
AT NON TAM VICTUS QUAM IN POSTERUM PROVIDENS
FORTUNÆ POTIUS QUAM HOSTI CESSIT;
MORE PLANE PARTHICO, FUGIENS JACULABATUR,
NISI QUOD EADEM SAGITTA
ET VULNERA ET MEDELAM MEDITATUS SIT.
PAPISTICÆ CALVINISTICÆQUE SUPERSTITIONIS,
SIMUL ET ATHEISMI, MALLEUS:
ROMAM ET GENEVAM SUBEGIT,
QUODQUE MAGIS HERCULEUM EST,
HOBBESIUM QUOVIS, VEL SUO, LEVIATHANE MONSTROSIOREM
PERDOMUIT;
INFULAMQUE TOT INTERTEXTAM LAUREIS ÆTERNITATI CONSECRAVIT.
VIATOR NE BRAMHALLUM QUÆRITES
INTER SAXA ET RUDERA, PERITURA TEMPORIS TROPHÆA;
ILLE IN LITERARUM MONUMENTIS SUA SIBI STRUXIT MARMORA,
LONGÆVIORA ÆGYPTIACIS, ET SUPRA PYRAMIDAS MIRANDA:
SETHUM NOSTRUM NON ALIÆ DECENT COLUMNÆ,
QUAM QUÆ SCIENTIAM ET VERITATEM DILUVIO VINDICENT;
ILÆ CHRISTIANUM DECENT ALCIDEM;
HAS CUM DEMUM STATUISSET,
RELIGIOSAS LITES LONGUM JUSSIT FACESCERE,
ET MILITIA PROBE FUNCTUS CESSIT QUIETI.
NOBIS ET SERIS NEPOTIBUS
MERITO INSCRIBAMUS LICET LITERARIIS HIS COLUMNIS
NON ULTRA.

THE VICTORY OF TRUTH

FOR THE PEACE OF THE CHURCH;

OR,

AN EPISTLE

FROM M. DE LA MILLETIERE,

COUNSELLOR IN ORDINARY TO THE KING OF FRANCE,

TO THE KING OF GREAT BRITAIN,

TO INVITE HIS MAJESTY

TO EMBRACE THE CATHOLIC FAITH.

THE VICTORY OF TRUTH

FOR THE PEACE OF THE CHURCH, &c.

Sir,

The wisdom of God's counsels differs widely from the judgment formed of it by the skill of those men, who are destitute of the knowledge of His grace. One sort, who know neither God nor His providence, look upon all the events of human life as if they happened by chance. They imagine, that what we call prosperity or adversity hath no other cause than accident, and the influence which each man's prudence or imprudence exerts upon the guidance of his life. Others, who acknowledge a Divine providence, but only after the manner that God hath manifested it to the world by the instructions and judgments of His Law, think, that all the goods, which heap prosperities upon them, are the effects and the testimonies of the favour wherewith God cherisheth those that are His; and that the ills, which oppress man's life with miseries, are arguments of the anger and hatred of God upon those He handles after that manner. But Christians, to whom God hath revealed by the Gospel the
2 counsel of His mercy in Jesus Christ, know, that in His Cross, on which, for satisfying the justice of the Law, He hath borne the penalty of our sins, He hath also changed, for those He calls to His communion, the use of afflictions; and that He employs them first to humble them, and to make them acknowledge their sin, that they may desire deliverance from it, to the end they may come by this way to the faith of His grace, which doth deliver them; and, when they are entered into communion with Him by faith, that the exercise of the same afflictions accomplisheth in them the work of His grace, in giving them, by the consolation He affords in their patience, the hope of the glorious happiness which He hath promised them, and which transports all their affections with

[The true meaning of the goods and evils that accompany man's life.]

love of Him. Those, therefore, that have this faith and this hope, are of a judgment far differing from the opinion of men of the world, upon the issue of the goods and the evils which accompany man's life.

[The evils of the Great Rebellion to be similarly explained.]

Considering, Sir, the present fortune of your Serene Majesty, far removed from the majestic condition of your birth, I humble myself with you in the sight of the powerful Hand of God, Who is the only Judge and only Master of monarchs, to ascend by the steps, whereto the Gospel leads us, even into the counsel of His infinite mercy. And I find there, that the catastrophe of this great calamity, which environs you, is a work of the wisdom of the King of Kings, Who desires to shew in you, whom he hath honoured with His unction and His image, a wonderful effect of His grace, and of His power. I say, Sir, that under the cloak of the so many sad adventures, which you experience by revolutions so strange that all the universe doth shudder at them, the King of Heaven and of earth, Who hath humbled Himself for you infinitely more low than you are, draweth Himself near unto you. He comes to take you by the hand, not only to re-establish you in your throne, but to make you to sit in His, that you may reign with Him eternally, after you have employed the sceptre, which He shall put again into your hand, to re-establish His Kingdom among your subjects.

[1. Their real cause, 2. their true remedy, easily traced.]

It is very easy for me, Sir, to give you a reason of this judgment I make of that of God upon your sacred Person, and to unfold unto you, not only the causes and the effects of the ill which is come upon you, but also the way, the use, and the success of the remedy, which the Hand of God will give you, to accomplish in you this work of His mercy.

[1. Their real cause visible in its effects.]

If we seek the cause for which, as we see, the hand of God hath made itself so grievously heavy upon the sacred head of the King your father, and which pursues, yet after him, your Royal Person with so many sinister accidents; which hath caused this great desolation to come upon all your kingdoms, this confusion, and this subversion of their peace and former prosperity, this change into which they have so blindly precipitated themselves, to part with the form of government that God had established amongst them, under which they had lived so happily for so many ages past, and become slaves

of the yoke which the armed hand of a tyrant hath put upon their head under the false name of liberty;—it will be very easy for us to find the cause of this, and to detect it by its effects.

[The motive of the Parliament in bringing them to pass.]

You are not ignorant, Sir, and all the world knows it with you, that the matter, for which this parricidal Parliament hath so cruelly persecuted the King your father, hath been the ecclesiastical government, of which it desired to change the form by the abolition of the Episcopate, and the suppression of the Liturgy and the ceremonies, through which the Protestants of your kingdom had yet retained some image of the Catholic Church. Those, whom they call Puritans and Presbyterians, who desire to live under the form of the Genevan discipline, could not endure the form of that ancient Order, which the Royal authority had retained as instituted by Divine authority, and as for this very thing necessary, for its conformity, to preserve in Christian states the form of a monarchical government. From thence it has come to pass that the Puritan and Presbyterian faction hath conceived, and always kept in its breast, an implacable hatred against monarchical government, by reason of their aversion to the Episcopal. The prudence of King James, your Majesty's grandfather, Sir, having judiciously taken notice of this, did as wisely warn his posterity, by an express book[a], to take heed of it. And this King, who knew Church, as well as State matters, foreseeing the inconvenience that might arise from it, when expressing with his lips that which touched him at the heart, had this familiar speech, '*No Bishop, no King*[b];' which is become a lamentable prophecy under his successor. But, O good God! what a successor! Such an one, certainly, that there was neither cause nor pretext capable of stirring up the hatred of subjects against a King so merciful, so just, and so loyal, so amiable to his people, so
3 venerable to his neighbours; save this only prejudice, with which the Puritan faction had imbued them, in making them believe, that under that ancient form of government and

[a] [The book intended appears to be the Βασιλικὸν Δῶρον, lib. ii. See pp. 147—149. ap. Jacobi Regis Oper., ed. Montac. Lond. 1619.]

[b] [See Dr. Barlow's Confer. at Hampton Court, pp. 36. 84. Lond. 1625; and Archbp. Williams' "Great Britain's Salomon," or Funeral Sermon for King James the First, in Lord Somers' Tracts, vol. ii. p. 16.]

service the King and the Bishops had an intention to re-establish in the realm the Catholic religion. This is the poison, which the Puritan faction hath inspired into the hearts of the people, to fill them with hatred against a king so worthy of love. And this republican Parliament, seeking to raise itself to a sovereign authority by the annihilation of that of the King, hath not thought any occasion more favourable to its design, than to put on the garb of Puritan opinions, that it might arrive at the accomplishment of its desires; which it has done at last by the sacrilegious parricide of its Archbishop and of its King.

[The motives of God very different in permitting them to be brought to pass.]

This surely, Sir, is the grand work of man's malice, and the Devil's cunning, in the accomplishment of the ills, that are fallen upon your crown and person by the pitiful fate of that succession which ought to have befallen you. But assuredly the justice and wisdom of God in this conjuncture hath other bearings.

[1. The motive of His justice and wisdom; towards Archbishop Laud;]

Every one knows that this Archbishop, nourished in the schism from the Catholic Church, had no other thought nor inclination than to reunite in one body the people divided into sects among themselves, as well as from the Church, and to make himself chief head of this schismatical body. And we see God hath permitted, that his own people, divided against itself, hath caused his head to be cut off.

[towards King Charles the First.]

The King, otherwise accomplished in all royal and moral virtues, did use in the schism, by the law of his predecessors, the authority which God had given him in temporal matters, for governing of spiritual, and called himself their head. It is for this reason, that God, chastising in his person the fault of his predecessors, has designed, by the tragical spectacle of an unheard-of death, in a King no less innocent than lawful, to let us know, that so strange an effect of His anger hath had no other object, than to instruct all other princes that are in the schism, with what severity God will revenge His glory, for the injury done to the unity and to the authority of His Church.

[2. The motive of His mercy; viz. to demonstrate the necessary

But if such is the end of Divine justice and wisdom in bringing about your ill fortune, His mercy, Sir, reaches much farther; and this is the end that concerns you. For God makes it here plainly appear unto your Majesty, that

the Reformation, which the authors of the schism in this latter age have pretended to make, hath been in reality (under the pretext of so fair an outside) nothing else than the entire ruin, as well of the faith and form of the Church, as of the Order itself instituted by God for the governing of men. This is the lesson which God sets before your eyes in the history of this sad revolution, which hath given you the wound, the feeling whereof is to be your instruction. You shall see, Sir, by all the circumstances of these tragical results, which have produced the trouble, and changed the form of your estates, and which have ravished from you the crown; that the new religion, which your predecessors embraced after the schism, is their only efficient cause, by the very maxims and foundations of the scheme, which its authors have called the Reformation of the Church. [consequences of the principles of the Reformation.]

Their new opinions did very easily insinuate themselves under this outward colour through the clefts of the schism into the spirit of the Bishops, who had rendered themselves guilty of it. But neither they themselves that received this novelty, nor the kings that authorized it, did think they were charging themselves with Uriah's packet, and embracing a religion, which would abolish both the authority of Bishops and the sovereignty of kings. For men are always blind in the works of darkness, which they do by the instinct of that Spirit, who is ever disguising himself as an Angel of Light that he may induce them to commit them. And their passions, which do blind them, do insensibly draw them into precipices of mishaps, whereof neither the steepness nor the depth is by them discerned. Certainly, whosoever should have demanded of Peter Martyr himself and Martin Bucer, who carried Calvin's Reformation into England, whether they went there to bring in the Brownists' opinions, who, by the maxims they received from their hands, did a little after devise a more exact Purity by the motions which they suppose the Holy Ghost suggests unto them, from whence it is that they esteem themselves more reformed Puritans;—whosoever likewise should have enquired of them, whether they came to sow there the seed of indifference to all religious opinions, and of the extinction of all ecclesiastical discipline, of all rule and form of a common faith, according to the

[That these principles are self-destructive,]

[2 Sam. xi. 14, 15.]

[2 Cor. xi. 14.]

determination of the Independents;—whosoever, lastly, should have asked them, whether the Sword of the Word they carried in their mouths was to cut off the heads of kings and Bishops, in order to give a form altogether new as well to the Kingdom as to the Church;—what would they have answered? They would have sworn, without doubt, with their hands upon the volume of the new Gospel they carried with them, that their thoughts were farther distant from these intentions than the earth is from hell. And nevertheless it is a thing no ways to be doubted of, and altogether apparent at present, that Calvin, Martyr, and Bucer, and the Bishops who admitted their Reformation, and the kings who authorized it, have brought in, by the maxims upon which it is founded, not only the Protestants, but also the Brownists, and the Independents. The Bishops that received this Reformation, saw not that it would engender the sect of the Presbyterians, enemies to the Hierarchy of the Church, and to all the order of its institutions, as well in its service as in its government, and would ruin their authority in order to abolish royalty itself. But neither did Calvin, nor Martyr, nor Bucer, know any better, that from the maxims of their Reformation would spring up necessarily the Brownists and the Independents, who would ruin their Reformation by introducing an indifference concerning all opinion in religion.

[is the lesson which God designs to teach by what He has permitted to happen.]

This it is, Sir, which the history of what has happened in the progress of this Reformation (the knowledge whereof your Majesty at this present moment carries engraven in your heart by very bitter feelings) represents unto our eyes, to the end all the world may see its nature and genius by the effects of its maxims. I will represent them, Sir, to the eyes of your Majesty; and, by a demonstration so lively and evident, that no reason can contradict it, you shall see, that the pain you suffer, and under which your estate groans, is the true effect, as it is the very punishment, of the sins your fathers committed and transmitted unto you, then, when under the pretext of this blind Reformation they abandoned the faith of the Church and her communion. For it is after this manner that the just vengeance of God punisheth sin by itself, and that its own natural consequences become the punishment it deserves. This religion, for which the Bishops, the kings,

and the people forsook the Church, hath destroyed the Bishops, and the kings, and reduced the people—without Bishops, without kings,—to live without form of government, and without discipline in religion, under the tyranny of a monster, who, without being either king or Bishop, attributes to himself all authority both in state and in religion. And this, Sir, I set forth unto your Majesty to make you understand, that this terrible work of the Hand of God, which afflicts you after this manner, is nevertheless a judgment of His mercy for you: for you may see He sends you not this trouble, but to make you perceive the sin, whereof it is the offspring, in order to withdraw you from both the one and the other, through the knowledge which He gives you of the horror you should have for the cause, by the pain you experience from its effect. You shall see it, Sir, clearly enough, by the consequents of the maxims, upon which the authors of the Reformation, which your fathers embraced, have laid its foundations.

[The maxims upon which the Reformation is founded.]

The foundations of the Reformation of Calvin are laid upon these two maxims, which he, and all those who, like himself, have forsaken the Church, have delivered as indubitable to the people which have followed them.

[I.]

The first is,—That the Church was fallen into ruin and desolation, by error in its faith, by idolatry in its service, and by tyranny in its government.

[II.]

The second, That to reform and re-establish it in its original purity, the faith of its doctrine, of its service, and of its government, was to be reduced to the only precepts of the Scripture, of the sense whereof every believer ought to be judge, for his own proper salvation, by the light of the Holy Ghost which guides him.

They saw, that, unless they laid down these maxims as grounds of reformation, they could not pretend for it any which might oblige them to forsake the Church, that they had a mind to leave, in order to frame a contrary party, and make war against her. For they could not deny the Church from which they separated, the title of the True Church, unless by accusing it, as they have done, of error, idolatry, and tyranny: and even when they had assumed that this accusation was true, they could not bring in the necessity of

a separation from her, in order to accomplish their Reformation, unless by excluding the authority of Tradition, and of the judgment of the Church, and by reducing the rule of the Reformation to the Scripture alone, interpreted by every man's judgment.

[Their successive consequences.] Your Majesty, Sir, shall now see, that from those maxims, which the Bishops of your realm (already become schismatics) received as the grounds of the Reformation which they admitted, there was first of all formed the sect of Puritan-Presbyterians against the Protestant-Episcopalians, who could not stand against them upon the foundation of these maxims: and that next to them the Brownists, who are more reformed Puritans, did raise themselves upon the same foundations; who have since begotten the Independents for the overthrow of the Presbyterians, by the same reasons by which these had overthrown the Protestants and Episcopacy, and with Episcopacy Royalty itself: in such sort, that all this dreadful disorder, which makes your Kingdoms to be a chaos of lamentable confusion, wherein your authority finds itself extinct, comes from these principles of reformation, which are the natural source thereof.

[The English Protestant Bishops.] That this is so, your Majesty, Sir, may clearly perceive. When the Bishops consented to these principles of reformation, they abandoned by them the faith of the Catholic Church concerning the Sacrifice of the Mass, concerning Transubstantiation in the Holy Eucharist, concerning the number and virtue of the seven Sacraments, concerning Justification by righteousness real and inherent in the faithful, and concerning their Merits, and the Invocation of Saints; concerning Prayer for the Dead and Purgatory, concerning the authority of the Pope, and the adhering of all the faithful to the See of St. Peter at Rome. But they retained, nevertheless, the Episcopal dignity and authority, with a part of the Liturgy and of the ceremonies of the Catholic Church.

[The Puritan-Presbyterians.] But the Puritan-Presbyterians have cast away all form of Hierarchy, and community of Liturgy and of ceremonies with the Church of Rome, as pernicious remainders of the Papal tyranny and idolatry, as they call them. That they might oppose themselves, according to the first maxim of their Reformation, to both of these, they have brought

in a form of government altogether novel, and composed a form of service altogether new. And thereupon they have had so much advantage against the Protestants in combating them upon the grounds of their common principles, and in stirring up against them the people heated with the zeal of reformation, that it was impossible for these to stand, if the Puritans could but once be supported by the authority of Parliament against the authority of the King, who was the only support of the Protestant cause, and that not by reasoning, but by command. For reasoning, by their principles, was all for the Puritans against the Protestants. Could they, without Tradition, and by the Holy Scripture alone, interpreted by the judgment of every one, establish Episcopal dignity, and its authority, with distinction and superiority of power above the other Pastors and Ministers? They could do so well enough, doubtless, by the authority of the Holy Scripture, assisted by Tradition, which declares its lawful sense. But in doing this, the victory which it gives them obligeth them to consent likewise to the authority and primacy of the Pope for the government of the Universal Church, as founded in the primacy St. Peter received in the college of the Apostles, as well for the form of the government of the Universal Church, as for that of every particular Church, from whence every Bishop derives his authority. It must needs be, then, either that the Protestants abandon Episcopacy as a seed of tyranny, and become Presbyterians; or that, in retaining it, they enter again into the communion of the Pope, and of the Bishops who adhere to him. For it is quite unnecessary to say here, that their division alone makes it impossible for them to stand, for the reason which the great Bishop and Martyr St. Cyprian gives to all Bishops, when he declares the obligation under which they lie to 'retain firmly the Unity of the Church by the indivisible Unity of Episcopacy, whereof every one doth solidly possess his share;' whereupon he admonisheth them, that 'if any one shall separate himself, it will happen unto him, as to a beam torn from the body of the sun, which will have no more part, through its division, in the unity of the light which dwells in the body: as to a bough broken from the tree, which will spring no more, having no more share in the sap which

[De Unitat. Eccles. ap. Cyprian. Op. p. 108.]

abides in the trunk and in the root of the tree: as to a rivulet cut off from the fountain, which will dry up, having no more to do with the course of the water which runs from the spring.' This it is, Sir, which your Bishops also cannot avoid. It must needs be, that, being separated from the Mother-Church, they be extinguished and vanish away and disappear, as it has come to pass. It must needs be, that their very punishment should be the natural consequence of the ground itself of their error,—that their *Reformation* should make them lose their *form*.

[The Brownists.] But if the Puritans have had this advantage over the Protestants by the common principles of their Reformation, that which the same principles have given the Brownists, in 6 accomplishing their separation from them, against the Puritans of the Genevan discipline, in the more exact Purity, which their spirit, as interpreter of the Scripture, suggests unto them, is yet more great. Behold how they combat the one party against the other, and the victory of the last. The Puritans of the Genevan discipline have defined certain Articles of Faith, and from them formed their Confession, to which they oblige all those whom they receive into their communion. But this law, which prescribes by authority a common belief among all the communicants, cannot agree with the judgment that every believer can and ought to make of the sense of the Scriptures, by the assistance of the Holy Ghost, according to the second common maxim of their Reformation. For, if one supposes this true, no other authority can bear rule over the conscience, nor prescribe it any thing beyond the sentiments which the Spirit suggests to it in the interpreting of the Scripture. And thereupon the Brownists assail in turn the Presbyterians by all the same authorities, upon which these have founded their authority to separate themselves from the Church and renounce its determinations: and maintain, that to oblige the faith of faithful men to a formulary of confession, which can have no other than a human authority, is to bring them anew under the Papal tyranny, from which the Holy Ghost hath set them free. Against this the Calvinists have no reply, which doth not pierce their own bosom with their own hand, and which is not their own condemnation pronounced by their own lips.

For they can answer nothing pertinently, if they do not borrow the reasons the Church hath against themselves. So God, perpetual Protector of His Church, causes her enemies to pronounce her victory with their own mouths: whilst they, that issued from the teeth and the mouth of the Serpent to make war upon her, do wage it among themselves, and kill one another. [Rev. xvi. 13.]

From these Brownists, as your Majesty, Sir, knows too well, are come the Independents, who have not arisen, but since the advantage the Puritan-Presbyterians had over the Protestants by the authority of the Parliamentarians. It is these that have produced this false prophet of blood and slaughter, to end this last act of infernal reformation, which he himself preaches to his Mussulmans with his sword in his hand, after he hath broken the Cross, and changed the Episcopal crozier into a murderer's axe. By this same spirit of the Brownists, with which he hath been originally imbued, using reasoning deduced from the fundamental maxims of the reformation common to them all, he combats the Presbyterians with much more advantage than they had combated the Protestants. Whence he promises himself to make them all submit to his own opinion, which is an indifference of all opinion in religion. And this will fall out without doubt according to his own mind, if they will follow out the consequences of their own maxims; upon the authority of which he gives liberty to every man to believe and prophesy that which they think the Spirit suggests to them. He thinks, that in making these people, separated from the Church, taste this unrestrained liberty of conscience, he shall rally all these different sects into one body, to set them against the Body of the Catholic Church, to the end he may destroy the Pope, and the Bishops that guide her, and may exterminate the kings that defend her. He calls this the great work of God. He assures its success to all them that follow him, by the revelation which he makes them believe God gives him at his fasts, his prayers, and his reading of the Holy Scriptures. And it is no marvel he can assemble such a number of followers by reasoning upon their maxims; for, after that they had already produced these different bodies of battalions, reformed and reforming, even to infinity, Protestants, Pres- [The Independents and Cromwell.]

[John viii. 44.] the imposture and deceit which 'the father of lies' hath hidden under these baits; which they themselves, whom he made the first instruments and authors of the division of the Church, did not perceive, and would have abhorred it had they known it would have been such?

[Its original error plainly convicted by its final termination in Independency.] Here then truly is the great work of God, whereof this false Prophet understands not the reason, when he speaks of it thus. God hath certainly done this work. And God hath raised up himself, to put this confusion among those who have forsaken the unity of the Church in dividing themselves into a thousand sects, of which they acknowledge now that no one can call itself the Church. For the sect of the Protestants cannot pretend thereto, since it no more even subsists: but one sees it to have justly perished by the very same maxims that separated it from the Church; and that the Presbyterians, which seduced it therefrom, have now destroyed it. Nor the sect of the Presbyterians;—which is under the yoke of the Independents, who cut its throat with the same sword wherewith itself warred against the Church: for they reduce it, by its own maxims, to renounce all discipline, all government, all law, and all rule of unity, and by consequence all form of the Church. This cursed Ham then [Gen. ix. 21, 22.] hath discovered the filthiness of his father, that is to say, of the first author of this pretended Reformation, who being drunk with the wine of his error did not himself know it.[8] But, if God pleases, the impudence of this brazen face, who hath lost all modesty, being not afraid to discover, by his *Independence*, the foundations of this preposterous Reformation, shall now touch his brethren with compunction and shame, that they may turn their back upon their common father. He will cause the Presbyterians and Protestants to understand, that it was the spirit of senselessness and error, which made Luther conceive and undertake the design of dividing the Church, under pretext of a false reformation. And thence they will perceive (if they can but come to themselves) that men neither ought to desire, nor are able truly or legitimately, to accomplish a reformation, unless in the union and by the consent of the Church, and by the rule of Tradition, which she hath received from the Apostles, and preserved by a continued succession.

As God, Sir, draws light out of darkness, so your Majesty sees, that out of your calamity He makes your salvation to come. But this is not for your good alone. That which He designs to do in your person, He designs to do in all your Kingdoms by your person; and not only in all your Kingdoms, but in all places, and towards all those, who are separated from the Church, as your Kingdoms are. That which is peculiar to yourself in this matter, is, that, being the greatest King of the party divided from the Church, and your Kingdoms the greatest and most flourishing estate that hath received this novel religion, where it hath found its most powerful sanctuary, and where it hath planted its most eminent and most assured abode; they are likewise the very place where God hath brought it into this confusion, in destroying it by the different sects which it hath itself there engendered, that all the world may know the spirit of error, whence it hath taken its original. For all the world at present sees what is this spirit, and its nature: whether it is the Spirit of Christ, the spirit of peace and truth; or the Spirit of Satan, the spirit of trouble and error; which hath raised the trouble and error that rules at present in your Kingdoms.

[This conviction the more plain as happening in England, the principal sanctuary of the Reformation.]

Since, then, such is the spirit of this new Reformation, and of its maxims; since such are its consequences, which have at this day discovered it, and made it evident: who is that man that can defend it? that can retain it in his conscience? that can have repose and comfort in his soul, while adhering to it? There is no more need of disputations or arguments to confute it; it is confuted by itself,—according to the character by which the Spirit of God marks out to us the heretic through the pen of the Apostle St. Paul, who commands us to depart from such for these reasons; "He has," saith he, "a perverted spirit, he is condemned by himself." This is the image that all the world doth see at present in this Reformation, and in its genius.

[The Reformation, being self-convicted, necessarily heretical.]

[Tit. iii. 10, 11. Vulg.]

There remains, however, one thing still to do, in order to apply this remedy of salvation to the conscience of the people whom this error hath seduced. There is no more needed than to anoint the wound the scorpion hath made, with the oil wherein it hath been bruised. For the way to heal them

[2. The true remedy of these evils: viz. the manifestation, by a public conference, of

the two great points in which the Reformation is self-convicted.] [First.]

is now very easy, by reason their Reformation hath received such a miserable success. There is nothing more easy, under these circumstances, than to make the people perceive, by the refutation of their Pastors upon the very grounds and maxims of their Reformation, that they have neither Church nor Faith; that, whilst they have supposed (contrary to the promise of Jesus Christ) that the Church was fallen into ruin, they have not been able under pretence of reforming her to form another, which should possess the conditions of the true Church, but only an infinity of sects, diverse and mutually contradictory, none of which can be the Church; that, in rejecting the authority of Tradition as interpreter of the Scripture, and the judgment of the Church as the declaration of their Faith, they have abandoned the unity of the Faith, in order each one to rest conceitedly in his own sentiments, through the different opinions they have conceived; conduct, which of necessity must bring them, as has actually come to pass, into an independence of all rule, and an indifference towards all opinion in religion.

[Matt. xvi. 18.]

[Second.]

And as the being ashamed to accuse the Church of error in all ages, hath from the beginning caused the authors of this reformation to allow, that the Church remained pure in faith during the time of the four first general Councils; they have afforded us a way by this to disabuse the people, whom they do abuse, when they accuse the Church at this day of error in the heads of her faith, which they have rejected. For they can no longer avoid falling into a manifest incon- 9
sistency touching the sentiments which they impute to the ancient Fathers in those points of faith, which are in controversy between us. They cannot brand the Church at this day with holding a different opinion in faith from the ancient Church, without cutting their own throats with their own inconsistencies upon the opinions which they attribute to the Fathers.

There is then nothing more to do for the informing the people, that are separated from the Church, of the truth, and for the obliging them to enter again into her communion, than to make them understand the cheat wherewith they have been surprised under the name of reformation, by convicting their ministers, in their presence, of an evident inconsistency

with themselves, by the consequences of the fundamental maxims of their Reformation: from whence results an indubitable demonstration, that it proceeds from the spirit of lying and error.

If it please your Majesty, Sir, to employ this way for your instruction, and the satisfaction of your conscience, that your conversion and return to the Church may both open the hearts, and the way, for all the rest to follow your example, you cannot do it more solemnly, or more commodiously, than in the place wherein you are at present. We have in this place [c] five ministers of the communion that is separated from the Catholic Church, who have gotten themselves as much credit and authority, through their esteem for competency and reputation for zeal, as any others in their whole body. Your Majesty, Sir, may easily obtain of the King your good brother and friend, that they be called, by his authority, to come (with all those of their communion with whom they would be assisted) and appear in presence of Monsieur the Archbishop of Paris, and Monsieur his Coadjutor, and the Catholic doctors, whom they shall please to bring with them: and there, Sir, your Majesty being present, to speak and answer, with all security and liberty, whatever their wit and their conscience may suggest to them upon the evident inconsistencies between the principles and the consequences of their Reformation; inconsistencies, which prove against them, that, in all their different sects which have forsaken the Church under this pretext, there is neither Church nor Faith; and that upon the points of Faith, wherein they have accused the Church of error, and thereupon have taken occasion to separate themselves from her, they have equally separated themselves from the communion of the Church of all ages: so that they cannot even accuse us of diversity of opinion from the ancient Church, without falling yet again into an evident inconsistency

[Such a conference easy under present circumstances.]

[Paris.]

[c] [At the date of the original publication of the 'Victory of Truth' (A.D. 1651), and for some time previous, the pastors of the Calvinist congregation at Charenton (near Paris), then five in number, were MM. Edmund Aubertin, Jean Daillé, Charles Drelincourt the elder, Michel Le Faucheur, and Jean Mestrezat. See the list of the Reformed Ministers and Churches in France, presented to the Synod of Alençon A. D. 1637, in Quicke's "Synodicon in Gallia Reformatâ," vol. ii. p. 386,—the article upon Le Faucheur in Quicke, ibid. p. 318,—and his Life with those of the other ministers above named in Bayle.]

with themselves, as well as with the ancient Fathers, and with us.

[The Protestant ministers cannot either honestly,]

These ministers, Sir, will not be able to refuse consent either to the desire of your Majesty, or to the commandment of the King your good brother, to do their duty both to their charge and to their conscience, without witnessing by their refusal the open abandonment which they make of their cause, and the condemnation which they themselves pronounce of it in their hearts. But they will choose (as I think) rather to present themselves ingenuously, in order to yield to the truth which they cannot contradict, than to incur the blame of being acknowledged formal enemies of the peace and reunion of the Church, through the perverseness of an obstinate faith. I know not how to believe, that they would love rather to fling themselves headlong, with their people, into the confusion and disorder of independency, and indifference of all opinion in religion, than to acknowledge the error and blindness of those who were the first egressors from the Church by these maxims, and who have cast their followers, by the consequences of them, into this abyss of irreligion, whereinto we see them at this present time fallen. And

[or effectually,]

should the ministers allow themselves to be carried astray into so perverse a thought, I do no ways believe that in France the people would follow them, and adhere to their opinions.

[and therefore probably will not, refuse to assist at it.]

For this reason it is, Sir, that I dare to hope that the ministers who are in Paris, being obliged by the desire of your Majesty, and the will of their Sovereign, to submit to this law, which their own conscience imposes on them for the satisfaction of their own people (for the people will have no less zeal, and will be no less desirous, to see the success of the appearance of their ministers, and of the answer which they shall have it in their power to make), will yield to it, and will choose rather by so doing to walk in the way of honour and good conscience, than basely to appear deserters, at one and the same time, both of their cause, and of good faith.

[Whatsoever they do, the conversion of the King, and, through

Whatsoever comes to pass, Sir, and whatsoever they do, whether they follow the motion of the Spirit of Peace and Truth, or whether the Spirit of Pride suggests unto them to avoid and fly both the one and the other; your Majesty will

in every case have the full satisfaction of departing from the error, which you shall see forsaken or condemned by its own ministers; and of entering into the Church, which is the "Pillar of Truth," and the "Rock of Ages," against which you see all the vessels of different sects, running before every wind of doctrine, through the trickery of them that conduct them, break themselves and make shipwreck. And then, when your Majesty shall have entered into the Church after this manner, and when all the world shall see, that the desire to glorify God by searching for the truth, by the repose of your conscience, and by love of your salvation, shall have been your whole motive therein; you need not doubt, Sir, but that your example will make the like impression in all those, whose souls are touched with the fear of God, but whom the treacherous semblance of piety retains in the error, that has assumed its mask. You need not doubt, Sir, but that, for so much as God hath elevated your Majesty in birth and eminent dignity above the rest that are in the communion wherein you have lived, they all, seeing these circumstances of your change and entrance into the Sanctuary of the Church upon the wings of the victory of truth, which alone carries you thither, will be stirred up to give glory to God for the same reasons for which you will have rendered it to Him.

him, of all who have separated fromRome, will necessarily follow.] [1 Tim. iii. 15.—Isa. xxvi. 4. literal rendering.]

It concerns you then, Sir, to make your entrance by this path, and to avail yourself of this means to make your way thither, to the end your conversion and return to the Church bring to her, with you, by this solemn conviction of the error which hath dismembered her, not only the nations which the division of your fathers hath torn from her, but also all the rest whom a similar cause hath separated. For by the power, which truth hath upon the conscience of men when it is apparent, there is no doubt but it will come to pass after this manner. When the people shall see that the ministers, when summoned into the presence of your Majesty, either by their avowal of the truth, or by their refusal to appear, shall have been themselves the ministers of your conversion, every one will enter upon the examination of the causes and reasons of the truth, that has persuaded you thereto, which will have no less power to make a like impression upon their souls by

the same means. For whether the ministers do sincerely yield to the truth, which they will not know how to contradict, or whether they condemn themselves by their rejection of an ingenuous mode of procedure, the event of their convocation will be alike and universal in all places, where the same way to call back the people to the Church shall be practised:—there are no ministers in France will know what to answer, where those of Paris shall be dumb;—no others will dispute precedence with them concerning competency.—But if they are wanting in the duty of a good conscience, you may easily meet many more ingenuous, who will not refuse to acknowledge the truth. By this way the people, who seek nothing but their salvation, and who have no interest more precious, will be ravished to see themselves in consequence, by a plain, solid, and sincere instruction upon the true understanding of the subjects of the Catholic faith, drawn out of this labyrinth of disputes, which are given them as matter of reformation, but are no less enemies to piety than to Christian charity.

[The accompanying treatise of the Author's, adopting the mode of argument recommended, intended to further this purpose.]

For this purpose, Sir,—desiring to be assisting to the design of making the people see, by the conviction of their ministers, that, being separated from the Church under this pretext of reformation, they are left by that means without Faith and without Church; and that, when one persuades them, that in the controverted questions of Faith the present Church teaches contrary to what the ancient Church hath believed, those that accuse her of so doing cannot do it but by a formal contradicting both of the Holy Fathers and of themselves, which is an inevitable proof of falschood and error:—I here put forth into the light a little treatise[d], wherein these two truths are rendered evident.

[d] ["La Victoire de la Vérité pour la Paix de l'Eglise, au Roy de la Grande Brétagne. Pour convier Sa Majesté d'embrasser la Foy Catholique. Par M. de la Milletière, Conseiller Ordinaire du Roy en ses Conseils." Paris 1651:—of which this Epistle formed the Dedication, and which consisted besides of a treatise "Sur la Controverse de la Transubstantiation decidée par le propre glaive dont le Ministre Aubertin a coupé la gorge à son heresie en son 'Anatomie'," and a "Trieve et Evidente Démonstration, pour faire voir aux Protestans qu'ils ont ny l'Eglise ny la Foy." A second letter to the King is added at the end of the volume in the copy which is in the Bodleian Library, but does not appear to have formed part of the original work, as neither Bramhall, nor La Milletière in the preceding parts, take any notice of it; it is entitled "Second Discours, Politique, Chrestien, et Catholique. Au Roy de la Grande Brétagne, pour représenter a Sa Majesté, qu' étant

They have undertaken no controversy of greater importance, according to their own opinion, than that of Transubstantiation in the Holy Sacrament of the Eucharist. They accuse us of having introduced, by the truth of this change, the necessity of adoring Jesus Christ in this Sacrament, or this Sacrament, which we maintain to be Jesus Christ Himself. They impute unto us, that in this we have altered the faith of the ancient Church, to which, they say, both this change, and the adoration of the Sacrament, have been unknown. They make this the principal cause, nay, even the only necessary cause of their separation from us. And being unable to deny, that the whole ancient Church did solemnly offer the Sacrifice of the Body and Blood of Jesus Christ to God His Father, according to His institution, in the Holy Eucharist, they cloak further their difference upon this subject from the ancient Church, and from us, with this, that the ancient Church did not believe (as they presume) Transubstantiation with us, nor by consequence the Sacrifice, as we do; saying that, upon this subject, as they reject what we believe of Transubstantiation, so they have for the same reason abolished likewise the Sacrifice, which the Church at this present time celebrates. [Its immediate subject, Transubstantiation.] 11

I have made it evident, Sir, that the Faith of the Church at this day is conformable to the ancient concerning this change, in a book[e], which I have published upon the subject, against the defences brought by minister Aubertin upon the passages [Summary of the entire argument.] [First step.]

Catholique il rentrera dans ses états, et qu'il n'y rentrera jamais autrement." No place or date; but written before Cromwell was recognised by France as Protector, i. e. not later than A. D. 1654. The author's right and full name, as it appears in the title-pages of his other works, is Théophile Brachet, Sieur de la Milletière. The erroneous spelling—Militière, which exists in *all* the separate editions of Bramhall's Answer that the Editor has seen, as well as in the folio edition of his Works, appears to have originated with Bramhall himself, as it is employed by him in all his other treatises wherein he has occasion to mention his name.]

[e] [The original French edition of M. Aubertin De Eucharistiâ was published in 1633, under the title of "L'Eucharistie de l'Ancienne Eglise." Its positions were assailed by La Milletière in a treatise entitled "La Paix de l'Englise fondée sur la Vérité de la Foi Catholique pour la Transubstantiation au S. Sacrement de l'Eucharistie, ou toutes les responses et les objections du Sieur Aubertin en son livre de l'Eucharistie sont refutées." Paris 1646. (Niceron, Memoires, &c. &c. tom. xli. artic. Milletière); to which Aubertin replied in his "Anatomie du livre publié par Le Sieur de la Milletière pour la Transubstantiation." Charenton 1648,—published without name, but from its contents obviously Aubertin's, and spoken of as his by Niceron (Mémoires &c. &c. artic. Aubertin, tom. xxxvi. p. 14.) and by La Milletière himself in his "Victoire de la Verité"—title-page.]

of the holy Fathers in his book of the Eucharist. I have reduced the demonstration of this truth to this point, viz. that all the holy Fathers have believed, that by the change, which intervenes in this Sacrament, it is rendered the same Flesh and the same Blood of Jesus Christ, received by the mouths of believers, whereof Jesus Christ speaks in St. John, where he commands us to 'eat and drink them, that we may have eternal life.' This minister hath not been able to contradict this truth, except in formally contradicting the sense, which the authors of his opinion, before him, have attributed to the Fathers, as conformable to their own, and in making the sense of the Fathers formally contrary to that of Jesus Christ, and that which he attributes to them formally contrary to the true sense which they bear, and which they enounce in clear and express words. I have convinced him of this by the proof of an evident demonstration in this little treatise[f]; and if he be called upon to reply to this conviction, the truth will be found to be victorious, either by his good or by his bad faith. But,—as their consciences continually tell them, and prick them for having introduced, by their Reformation, an equal contrariety in all opinions to the Faith of the Church of all ages,—when they see themselves reduced to this extremity, they throw themselves into the intrenchment of their fundamental maxims, admitting, namely, of no Rule of Faith, but that of the Scripture interpreted by every man's reason. Upon that I have convinced them by a demonstration[g] without reply, that by the scheme of their Reformation, founded upon the use of this rule, they have lost for themselves both the Church and the Faith. And this they must acknowledge if they be called to answer thereto, or, if not, the truth will preserve its advantage by the rejection they will make of it.

[John vi. 53.]

[Second step.]

[Third step.]

I most humbly entreat your Majesty, Sir, that you will be pleased to let this little work have the glory to appear to the world under your august name, for a prop which will be able to aid your faith, as an instrument of the truth, the victory

[f] [The discourse upon Transubstantiation, which formed the first and larger part of the "Victoire de la Vérité."]

[g] [The "Briève et Evidente Demonstration, &c." above mentioned as subjoined to the "Victoire de la Vérité."]

whereof ought happily to gain you to the Church; and, by gaining you thereto, to bring with you her peace, and the re-union to her of all the parties that are divided from her. For assuredly this grace of Heaven is not far from us, if we ourselves do not draw back from it.

[Probable good effects of the proposed conference.]

And I am certain, that if it please the prudence of the Bishops, whom the Holy Ghost hath established for the guidance of the Church (as I hope well that it will please them), to avail themselves, towards the people that have abandoned their Crosier, of the way that I propose and present to your Majesty; they will see, without much trouble, and in a little time, the strayed sheep returning to them, by the very hand of those who keep them withdrawn from their sheep-folds. For in effect, when the evidence of this demonstrated truth shall once have established itself (by the sweetness of the amicable conferences, wherein it ought to be handled with all sincerity and liberty) in the spirit of all our separated brethren, as well ministers as people, they will consent with joy to re-enter into the Catholic Church. And so much the more willingly, that, for the same reasons which support the truth of her Faith, when acknowledged conformably to the Tradition of all ages, they will acknowledge her also, in all her parts, to be the true Seed from which the Holy Spirit hath caused piety and charity to spring, flourish, and fructify in believers. From whence it follows for the same reason, that the true and legitimate reformation, which all good people in the Church desire in the Church, doth depend upon nothing else than the understanding and practice of these same truths, by the duty which they point out to all believers in the different vocations whereto God calls them: 12 in all which [vocations] the end that is proposed them, is no other, than to live united among themselves and with Jesus Christ by the grace of the Holy Ghost, in order to serve God under the obedience of the government which He hath put into the hands of the Bishops, who feed the Flock with an unanimous consent under the authority of the single Chair of St. Peter, established at Rome by the two Coryphæi of the Apostles, St. Peter and St. Paul, from which whosoever separates himself, is a schismatic and out of the communion of the Church.

writing [h], the rules of their Covenant by the very maxims of their reformation. God hath delivered them into his hands, and imposed upon them the yoke of his absolute domination. They must now submit to the laws of his Independency, and of his Commonwealth, the name whereof serves for a mask to his tyranny.

[in the wonderful deliverance of his own person.]

But God hath delivered you, Sir, therefrom; and by an instance of His Providential guidance, full of awe and wonder, He hath withdrawn your sacred person from a thousand dangers, wherewith it was threatened by the fury and cruelty of this monster, who spared neither the strength of iron, nor the preciousness of gold, to find the means of violently taking away your life. You have seen, Sir, descend upon your head, the anger of God, Who, in the phrase of Scripture, "looseth the belt of kings, and binds their reins with thongs." You have seen His arm, armed with His rage, defeat your armies. Combating at their head, you have done bravely, with your hand and with your courage, all that the generosity of a valiant and magnanimous prince could do, to associate victory with the justice of your arms. You have there shed your own blood, and seen that of your faithful subjects stream through the fields strewn with their bodies. Your valour, and their unfearful hearts, had for a time gotten the advantage of the great number of your enemies, who found themselves on the point of turning their backs; but the chance of arms turning in an instant to their side, this ill-hap, fatal to your crown, ravished from you in this last conflict, according to human appearance, both the means and the hope of recovering it [i]. But God hath means unknown to men, and "His ways are not our ways." It is in our weakness that He magnifies His strength, and in our lowliness that He makes His height to be seen. Then, when He had thus deprived you of your forces, and had stripped you of all human means of safety, He came to you with another countenance, and

[Job xii. 18. Vulg.]

[Isa. lv. 8.]

[h] [The letters of Cromwell to the Scotch ministers, &c. (Thurloe's State Papers, vol. i. pp. 158, &c.), were printed in Edinburgh A. D. 1650, immediately after the battle of Dunbar, so that La Milletière might have seen them in 1651.]

[i] [Compare Clarendon's account of the battle of Worcester, Hist. of the Rebell., bk. xiii. vol. iii. pp. 527, 528.]

armed you with a sense, a hardiness, and a resolution, which were above the spirit of a man, to support you in the plan which you made choice of for your security. You resolved to seek it by exposing yourself alone in the solitariness of the ways, and in the desert of the forests, to the hazard of a thousand sad accidents; after you had hidden all the marks of that majesty, which is born with you, under a form borrowed from the most base condition, that the eyes of the people, which owe you after God the second homage, might not know who you truly were. You have passed after this manner, without astonishment, and without fear, across a thousand objects, which at every step presented their images to your mind. It is there, that you have perceived that God had encamped His Angels about you, for your guard, and for your defence. It is there, that He has made of a simple peasant and an infirm woman, the very Angels of His assistance, that He might be your guide; giving to the simplicity of the one, and to the frailty of the other, the prudence and the resolution necessary to conduct you, with as much judgment as integrity, and to bring you—as a stranger, and one unknown, the object of every man's contempt and neglect,—into the capital city of your ancestors' inheritance. It is there, that, when you had reason to fear (on account of the orders set forth against your life, and for your discovery) the meeting so many faces looking upon yours, the Hand of God hath held the eyes of all those who would have had the heart to hurt you; and He hath opened them, so as to recognise you, to him alone, who, without being anticipated either by your foresight or by your expectation, became the Angel of your guidance, to make you cross the seas and descend upon our shores, and to restore you again to the eyes of the Queen your dear mother, to whom your presence hath caused a greater cessation of grief and a greater increase of joy, than happened at your birth [k].

God hath then after this manner, Sir, made you to return

[k] [This rhetorical account of the King's escape is apparently founded upon a different version of the facts from that given by Clarendon,—Hist. of the Rebell., bk. xiii. vol. iii. pp. 533. 550.]

[His temporal, a call to his spiritual, deliverance;—enforced by the tears of his mother, Queen Henrietta,]

hither into the bosom, wherein your Majesty began your life, to the end He may give you a new life by your being born again into the spiritual bosom of your Eternal Mother. You see the guidance and the counsel of God, who calls you to Him by a call so marvellous, having heard the prayers and vows, the sighs and tears, of this Catholic princess, to give her the joy of seeing you rendered a partaker of the greatest 14 blessing that she hath received from God, and which she hath unceasingly implored for you ever since your birth. Daughter, as she is, of the Great Henry, the glory of the most Christian Kings, she implores of God for you the inheritance of that grace which he received from His hand, Who caused him at one and the same time both to enter the Church, and to obtain his throne. Her faith implores it, her patience hopes it, and her piety will obtain it. This is the consolation she sighs after, to restore her from so many bitter afflictions, which she hath sucked in drop by drop, and which the Hand of God hath poured upon her, in His Son's Chalice, by which He proves the constancy of those who love Him.

[by the martyrdom of his father, King Charles the First,]

To the tears of this desolate Princess, I add, Sir, the innocent blood poured out before God by the King your father, whom I think I may be able without fear to style blessed. For, if we look upon the cause of his death, he hath been persecuted and cruelly slain, when he was able to avoid the one and the other from the hands of his enemies, if he would have submitted his conscience to their Covenant, and consented to the abolition of Episcopacy. But he hath loved rather to glorify God by the confession of a good conscience, and for the support of a dignity which he hath believed to have been instituted by God, according to the opinion of the Catholic Faith. Certainly we ought to believe, that it is to this Faith, which he hath preferred before the greatest things in the world, to which we must ascribe, and acknowledge for the fruits thereof, the piety, the humility, the patience, the constancy, the resignation to the Will of God, the submission even to that of men for the love of God, which we have seen in him, and which his persecution, his suffering, his prison, his unworthy treatment, his trial as a criminal, his degradation, his condemnation, the horror and the cruelty of his

punishment, like to which the sun did never yet see an example on the earth, have rendered more illustrious and more bright-shining than the light of the sun itself. We may say, that the firmness of this faith hath been in his heart a secret work of God, to re-unite him, in this trial of the last moments of his life, to His Catholic Church, to the number of His faithful Elect, 'many of whom' (saith St. Augustin) 'invisibly belong to the Church, though they are not rendered members of it visibly.' And we ought to believe, that this Crown, which he hath gained by the constancy of his faith, hath been woven for him by the Hands of Jesus Christ, the King of Kings, hearing with favour the prayer and intercession of the blessed Queen his grandmother, who hath in the same manner shed her blood, and given up her soul into the hands of God, by one and the same punishment, with a faith and constancy not to be imitated, for the Catholic faith, which was the one primary cause of the hatred and persecution she received from her people, and from her most near kinswoman, the succession of whose crown belonged to her. For the prayer of the blessed Martyrs in Heaven tends to obtain continually of God, by Jesus Christ, the fulfilment of the same grace they have received here below, imploring it for those that have need thereof, to the end that their own faith may be also consummated by a perfect charity. [De Bapt. contr. Donatist. lib. v. c. 38. tom. ix. p. 159. F.]

It is this grace, Sir, which you will experience, when your Majesty shall have attained this faith by your re-union with the Church. You will feel likewise the effect of the prayers and intercession this glorious Princess makes to God for you by Jesus Christ; to the end, that when He shall have restored you to His Church, the throne, that was unjustly rent away both from her and from you, may be restored to you in the midst of your subjects, there to re-establish, by the same grace, the Kingdom of Jesus Christ. [by the intercession of Queen Mary of Scotland.]

To these prayers, which all the Angels, and all the Saints which are in the Church, in Heaven and in earth, make to God for your Majesty, I join, Sir, my vows and my supplications, with this testimony of my devotion to your most humble service, in a subject which I have

deemed the most important, and the most worthy to gain me the honour of your Majesty's favour, and that of styling myself,

SIR,

Your Majesty's most humble, most faithful, and most obedient Servant,

LA MILLETIERE.

THE WORKS

OF

ARCHBISHOP BRAMHALL.

PART THE FIRST;

CONTAINING

THE DISCOURSES AGAINST THE ROMANISTS.

DISCOURSE I.

AN ANSWER

TO

M. DE LA MILLETIERE

HIS IMPERTINENT DEDICATION OF HIS IMAGINARY TRIUMPH;

OR

HIS EPISTLE

TO THE KING OF GREAT BRITAIN,

WHEREIN HE INVITETH HIS MAJESTY

TO FORSAKE THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND,

AND

TO EMBRACE THE ROMAN CATHOLIC RELIGION.

BY JOHN BRAMHALL, D.D.

LORD BISHOP OF DERRY.

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DISCOURSE I.

AN ANSWER

TO

M. DE LA MILLETIERE[a]

HIS IMPERTINENT DEDICATION OF HIS IMAGINARY TRIUMPH.

[First printed at the Hague, A. D. 1653.]

Sir,

You might long have disputed your question of Transubstantiation with your learned adversary, and proclaimed your own triumph on a silver trumpet to the world, before any member of the Church of England had interposed in this present exigence of our affairs. I know no necessity that Christians must be like cocks, that, 'when one crows, all the rest must crow for company[b].' Monsieur Aubertin will not want a surviving friend[c], to teach you what it is 'to sound a

[Of the treatise upon Transubstantiation in La Milletière's "Victoire de la Vérité."]

[a] [Théophile Brachet, Sieur de la Milletière, was originally a member of the French Reformed congregations, and sufficiently distinguished among them to be selected as a deputy and secretary to the Assembly of La Rochelle in 1621. He entered subsequently into the plans of Cardinal Richelieu for the union of the Roman Catholic and Reformed Churches in France, — published a great number of letters, pamphlets, and treatises upon the doctrines in dispute between them, assimilating gradually to the Roman Catholic tenets, — was suspended in consequence by the Synod of Alençon in 1637, and expelled by that of Charenton in 1645, from the Reformed communion, — and finally became a Roman Catholic "of necessity, that he might be of some religion." "He was a vain and shallow man, full of himself, and persuaded that nothing approached to his own merit and capacity;" and, after his change of religion, "was perpetually playing the missionary, and seeking conferences, although he was always handled in them with a severity sufficient to have damped his courage, had he not been gifted with a perversity which nothing could conquer" (Benoit, Hist. de l'Edit de Nantes, tom. ii. liv. 10. pp. 514, 516). The work to which Bramhall replied seems fully to bear out the truth of this sketch of his character. — See the article 'Milletière' in Bayle, and notes b and c, pp. 10, 11, (marginal paging,) of La Milletière's Epistle prefixed to this volume.]

[b] Plut. [The Editor cannot find this saying in Plutarch.]

[c] [Edmund Aubertin (*Albertinus*) was one of the many celebrated theologians who adorned the French Reformed congregations in the seventeenth century.

PART I.

triumph before you have gained the victory[d].' He was no fool that desired no other epitaph on his tomb than this, "Here lies the author of this sentence, *Prurigo disputandi scabies Ecclesiæ*—The itch of disputing is the scab of the Church[e]."

Having viewed all your strength with a single eye, I find not one of your arguments that comes home to Transubstantiation, but only to a true Real Presence; which no genuine son of the Church of England did ever deny, no, nor your adversary himself. Christ said, "This is My Body;" what He said, we do steadfastly believe. He said not, after this or that manner, *neque con, neque sub, neque trans.* And therefore we place it among the opinions of the schools, not among the articles of our Faith. The Holy Eucharist, which is the Sacrament of peace and unity, ought not to be made the 16 matter of strife and contention.

1 Cor. xi. [18-34.] No differences in the Church directly about the Sacrament [of the Lord's Supper] for the first 800 years;

There wanted not abuses in the administration of this Sacrament in the most pure and primitive times: as profaneness and uncharitableness among the Corinthians. The Simonians, and Menandrians, and some other such imps of Satan, unworthy the name of Christians, did wholly forbear the use of the Eucharist; but it was not for any difference about the Sacrament itself, but about the Natural Body of Christ; they held, that His Flesh, and Blood, and Passion, were not true and real, but imaginary and phantastical, things[f]. The Manichees did forbear the Cup; but it was not for any difference about the Sacrament itself: they made two Gods,—a good God, whom they called Φῶς or Light, and an evil God, whom they termed Σκότος or Darkness; which evil God, they said, did make some creatures of the dreg or more

He was born at Chalons sur Marne in 1595, and became a minister of the congregation at Charenton in 1631, where he remained until his death. He is principally known as the author of a learned and laborious treatise upon the subject of Transubstantiation, first published in French at Geneva in 1633, and republished after his death in Latin with the author's improvements by Blondel, Daventriæ 1655. He died April 5th, 1652, between the publication of La Milletière's book and Bramhall's Answer.—See notes a and c to La Milletière's Epistle, pp. 9 and 11, and the article Aubertin in Bayle.]

[d] [Platon. Lys. c. 6. ii. 205. D. Theætet. c. 56. i. 164. C.]

[e] Sir Henry Wotton. [See Walton's Life and Wordsworth's note, Eccles. Biogr. vol. iv. p. 104. 3rd edit.]

[f] Theodoret [Dialog. iii. tom. iv. P. i. p. 231. ed. Schulze; tanquam] ex Ignatio [scil. in Epist. ad Smyrn. § 6. inter Patr. Apost. tom. ii. p. 412. ed. Jacobson].

feculent parts of the matter, which were evil and impure; and among these evil creatures they esteemed wine, which they called 'the gall of the Dragon[g]:' for this cause, not upon any other scruple, they wholly abstained from the Cup[h], or used water in the place of wine; which Epiphanius recordeth among the errors of the Ebionites and Tatians[i], and St. Augustine of the Aquarians[k]. Still we do not find any clashing, either in word or writing, directly about this Sacrament in the universal Church of Christ, much less about the Presence of Christ in the Sacrament. "*Neque ullus veterum disputat contra hunc errorem primis sexcentis annis*[l]."

The first that are supposed by Bellarmine to have broached any error in the Church about the Real Presence, were the Iconomachi, after 700 years;—"*primi qui veritatem Corporis Domini in Eucharistia in quæstionem vocârunt, fuerunt Iconomachi post annum Domini* 700[m];"—only because they called the Bread and Wine the image of Christ's Body[n]. This is as great a mistake as the former. Their difference was merely about images, not at all about the Eucharist. So much Vazquez[o] confesseth; that, "in his judgment, they were not to be numbered with those who deny the Presence of Christ in the Eucharist."

We may well find different observations[p] in those days: as one Church consecrating leavened bread, another unleavened; one Church making use of pure wine, another of wine mixed with water; one Church admitting infants to the Communion, another not admitting them: but without controversies, or censures, or animosity one against the other. We find no debates or disputes concerning the Presence of Christ's Body in the Sacrament, and much less concerning the manner of His Presence, for the first 800 years.

yet different observations;

[g] ["Fel Principum tenebrarum." August. de Mor. Manich. c. 44. tom. i. p. 732. C.]

[h] Leon. M. Serm. iv. De Quadrages. [c. 5. tom. i. p. 217. ed. Quesnel.]

[i] Adv. Hæres. xxx. [§ 16. p. 142. A]; xlvi. [§ 2. p. 392. A. tom. i. ed. Petav. Paris. 1622.]

[k] Lib. de Hæres. c. lxiv. [tom. viii. p. 20. G.]

[l] Bellarm. De Sacram. Euchar. lib. i. cap. 1. [Op. tom. ii. p. 456. A.]

[m] Bellarm. Ibid. [B.]

[n] Synod. Concil. Nicæn. Secund. act. vi. [tom. iii. ap. Labb. Concil. tom. vii. p. 445.]

[o] [In Tert. Part. D. Thomæ. Qu. 75. Art. 1.] Disput. clxxix. c. 1. [num. 9.]

[p] [Bingham's Orig. Eccles. book xv. chap. 2. § 5, 6, 7. chap. 4. § 7. vol. v. pp. 40—51. 171—179. Lond. 1840.]

PART I. and different expressions.

Yet all the time we find as different expressions among those primitive Fathers[q], as among our modern writers at this day: some calling the Sacrament 'the Sign of Christ's Body'—'the Figure of His Body'—'the Symbol of His Body'—'the Mystery of His Body'—'the Exemplar,' 'Type,' and 'Representation, of His Body'[r],' saying 'that the Elements do not recede from their first nature[s];' others naming it 'the true Body and Blood of Christ[t],'—'changed, not in shape, but in nature[u];' yea, doubting not to say, that in this Sacrament

[q] [Albertin. De Euchar. lib. ii. in answer to Bellarm. De Sacram. Euchar. lib. ii.—Bp. Cosin's Schol. Hist. of Transubstant. chapters 5. and 6.—Jer. Taylor on the Real Pres. § 12. vol. x. pp. 59, &c.—Johnson's Unbloody Sacrifice, chap. 2. subsect. to sect. 1. pp. 145, &c.]

[r] [*Signum.* August. De Doctr. Christ. lib. iii. c. 9. § 13. tom. iii. P. i. p. 49. B.C. Adv. Adimant. xii. § 3. tom. viii. p. 124. E. Adv. Maximin. lib. ii. c. 22. § 3. tom. viii. p. 725. F. *Figura.* Tertull. Adv. Marcion. lib. iii. c. 19. p. 494. A. lib. iv. c. 40. p. 571. B. C. Paris 1634.—Ambros. (?) De Sacram. lib. iv. c. 5. § 21. tom. ii. p. 371. B.—August. in Ps. 3. § 1. tom. iv. p. 7. E.—Gaudent. Brix. De Pasch. Observat. Tract. 2. ap. Biblioth. Patr. tom. iv. p. 807. E.—Ephræm. Syr. De Nat. Dei Curios. non Scrutand. p. 681. Col. 1603.—Bedæ Comment. in Luc. 22. lib. vi. tom. v. p. 424; in Ps. 3. tom. viii. p. 324. *Imago.* Ambros. De Offic. lib. i. c. 48. § 248. tom. ii. p. 63. B. C. —Gelas. De Duab. Natur. ap. Biblioth. Patr. tom. v. P. iii. p. 671. B. *Symbolum.* Victor Antioch. in Marc. c. 14. ap. Biblioth. Patr. tom. iv. p. 330. F. *Mysterium.* Chrys. (?) Opus Imperf. Hom. xi. p. lxiii. D, in fin. tom. vi. ed. Montfauc.—Hilar. De Trinit. lib. viii. p. 58. B. Paris. 1572.—Hieron. in Ezek. 41. tom. ii. p. 998.—Comment. (vulg. Ambros.) in 1 Cor. xi. 19. in Append. ad Ambros. Op. tom. ii. p. 149. F.—Facund. Hermian. Pro Trib. Capit. lib. ix. c. 5. p. 144. B. ed. Sirmond. *Typus.* Hieron. In Jerem. 31. tom. i. p. 678.—Jovinian. ap. Hieron. Adv. Jovin. lib. ii. tom. iv. P. ii. p. 198.—Comment. (vulg. Ambros.) in 1 Cor. xi. 26. ut supra p. 149. D.—Capit. Martin. Episc. Bracar. cap. lv. ap. Labb. Concil. tom. v. p. 911. *Similitudo.* August. Epist. xcviii. § 9. tom. ii. p. 267. F.—Ambros. (?) De Sacram. lib. iv. c. 4. § 20. tom. ii. pp. 370. C. 371. A. lib. vi. c. 1. § ibid. 3. 4. p. 380. A. B.—Gelas. De Duab. Natur. ut supra. *Repræsentatio.* "In quo" (pane) "ipsum Corpus Suum *repræsentat.*" Tertull. Adv. Marcion. lib. i. c. 14. p. 440. A. Paris. 1634. — "Ut . . . Ipse quoque veritatem Sui Corporis et Sanguinis *repræsentaret.*" Hieron. in Matth. 26. tom. iv. P. i. p. 128. Εἰκών—Σύμβολον —Μυστήριον—Ἀντίτυπος—Τύπος: see the passages collected from the Greek Fathers by Suicer, Thesaur. sub vocc.]

[s] ["Οὐδὲ γαρ . . . τὰ μυστικὰ σύμβολα τῆς οἰκείας ἐξίσταται φύσεως." Theodoret. Dial. ii. tom. iv. P. i. p. 126. ed. Schulze.—"Τὸ παρὰ τῶν πιστῶν λαμβανόμενον Σῶμα Χριστοῦ . . . τῆς αἰσθητῆς οὐσίας οὐκ ἐξίσταται." Ephræm. Antioch. Patriarch. ap. Phot. Biblioth. Cod. ccxxix. p. 252. ed. Bekker.—"*Esse non desinit. . . . natura* panis et vini." Gelas. De Duab. Natur. ut supra.—"*Natura* panis *permansit*" (post sanctificationem). Chrys. ad Cæsarium. Op. tom. iii. p. 744. C. ed. Montfaucon.]

[t] ["Τὸ τίμιον Αἷτοῦ Σῶμα καὶ Αἷμα ἀληθῶς λαμβάνοντες" Act. Concil. Nicæn. Primi in Gelas. Cyzic. Hist. lib. ii. c. 30. ap. Labb. Concil. tom. ii. p. 234.— "Nunc enim et Ipsius Domini professione et nostra fide *vere Caro* est et *vere Sanguis* est." Hilar. De Trinit. lib. viii. p. 58. D. Paris. 1572.—"*Vera*" (Christi) "*Caro* . . quam accipimus, et *verus* Ejus *potus* est." Ambros. (?) De Sacram. lib. vi. c. 1. § 1. p. 380.]

[u] ["Panis . . . *non effigie sed natura mutatus.*" Serm. Arnold. Abbatis (vulg. Cyprian.) inter Op. ejus p. 40. in Append. ad Cyprian. Op.—"Benedictione etiam *natura mutatur.*" Ambros. lib. de Mysteriis c. ix. § 50. tom. ii. p. 338. D; and again ibid. § 52. p. 339. C.]

'we see Christ'—'we touch Christ'—'we eat Christ[x],'—'that we fasten our teeth in His very Flesh, and make our tongues red in His Blood[y].' Yet, notwithstanding, there were no questions, no quarrels, no contentions amongst them; there needed no Councils to order them, no conferences to reconcile them; because they contented themselves to believe what Christ had said,—"This is My Body,"—without presuming on their own heads to determine the manner how it is His Body; neither weighing all their own words so exactly before any controversy was raised, nor expounding the sayings of other men contrary to the analogy of Faith.

The first difference about the Presence of Christ in the Sacrament.

The first doubt about the Presence of Christ's Body in the Sacrament seems to have been moved not long before the year 900 in the days of Bertram and Paschasius; but the controversy was not well formed, nor this new article of Transubstantiation sufficiently concocted, in the days of Berengarius, after the year 1050; as appeareth by the gross mistaking and mistating of the question on both sides. First Berengarius, if we may trust his adversaries, knew no mean between a naked figure or empty sign of Christ's Presence and a corporeal or local Presence[z], and afterwards fell into another extreme of *impanation*[a]: on the other side, the Pope

[x] ["Ἰδοὺ Αὐτὸν ὁρᾷς, Αὐτοῦ ἅπτῃ, Αὐτὸν ἐσθίεις· . . . Αὐτὸς δὲ Ἑαυτὸν σοι δίδωσιν, οὐκ ἰδεῖν μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἅψασθαι καὶ φαγεῖν καὶ λαβεῖν ἔνδον." Chrys. Hom. in Matth. lxxxii (al. lxxxiii). tom. ii. p. 514.—"Οὐ τὸ ἱμάτιον μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ Σῶμα· οὐχ' ὥστε ἅψασθαι μόνον, ἀλλ' ὥστε καὶ φαγῆναι καὶ ἐμφορηθῆναι." Id. Hom. in Matth. l (al. li). tom. ii. p. 322.—"Ἅψασθαι τοῦ Σώματος Χριστοῦ." Basil. De Baptism. lib. ii. Qu. 3. tom. i. p. 677. D. Paris. 1618.—"Christus, noster (qui *Corpus Ejus contingimus*) panis." Cyprian. Serm. de Orat. Domin. Op. p. 147. —"Certus quod *Agnum Ipsum* integre *comedas*." Ephræm. Syr. De Nat. Dei Curios. non Scrut. p. 682. Col. 1603.—See also note y.]

[y] ["Οὐκ ἰδεῖν Αὐτὸν μόνον παρέσχε τοῖς ἐπιθυμοῦσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἅψασθαι καὶ φαγεῖν καὶ ἐμπῆξαι τοὺς ὀδόντας τῇ Σαρκί." Chrys. Hom. in Joh. xlvi (al. xlv). tom. ii. p. 746.—"Ὡς τῆς θείας καὶ ἀχράντου πλευρᾶς ἐφαπτόμενοι τοῖς χείλεσιν, οὕτω τοῦ σωτηρίου Αἵματος μεταλάβωμεν." Id. Hom. v. (ix. Montfauc.) de Pœnitentia. tom. vi. p. 791. —"Τὴν γλῶσσαν τὴν φοινισσομένην Αἵματι φρικωδεστάτῳ." Id. Hom. in Matth. lxxxii (al. lxxxiii). tom. ii. p. 514.—"Πάντας ἐκείνῳ τῷ τιμίῳ φοινισσομένους Αἵματι." Id. De Sacerdot. lib. iii. tom. vi. p. 15.—"Cruci hæremus, *Sanguinem sugimus*, et intra Ipsius Redemptoris nostri vulnera *figimus linguam; quo*" (*Sanguine*) "interius exteriusque *rubricati* . . ." Serm. Arnold. Abbat. ut supra, p. 41.]

[z] [Such is the representation of his principal adversaries, Adelmann (Epist. ad Berengar. ap. Biblioth. Patr. tom. xi.), Guitmund (De Verit. Corp. et Sang. Christi in Euchar., ibid.), Lanfranc (Lib. de Sacram. Euchar. adv. Berengar., ibid.), and Alger (De Sacram. adv. Berengar., ibid. tom. xii.); but Bp. Cosin (Hist. of Transubstant. c. 7. § 5.) gives a far more favourable view of his opinions, as implied in the few words of his own preserved by Lanfranc.]

[a] [Guitmund, as above, p. 351. E.]

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and the Council made no difference between consubstantiation and transubstantiation,—they understood nothing of the spiritual or indivisible being of the Flesh and Blood of Christ in the Sacrament; as appeareth by that ignorant and 'Capernaitical' retractation and abjuration, which they impose upon Berengarius, penned by Umbertus a Cardinal, approved by Pope Nicholas and a Council:—"*Ego Berengarius &c.*[b]"—"I Berengarius do consent to the Holy Roman Apostolic See, and profess, with my mouth and my heart, to hold the same Faith of the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper with Pope Nicholas and this holy Synod, &c.;" and what the Faith of Pope Nicholas and this Synod was, follows in the next words; "That the Bread and Wine, which are set upon the Altar, after Consecration are not only the Sacrament, but the very Body and Blood of Christ." This seems to favour consubstantiation, rather than transubstantiation. If the Bread and Wine be the Body and Blood of Christ, then they remain Bread and Wine still; if the Bread be not only the Sacrament, but also the thing of the Sacrament, if it be both the sign and the thing signified, how is it now to be made nothing? 17

[John vi. 52. 59.]

It follows in the retractation; "That the Body and Blood of Christ is sensibly, not only in the sacrament, but in truth, handled and broken by the hand of the Priest, and bruised by the teeth of the faithful." If it be even so, there needs no more but feel and be satisfied. To this they made Berengarius swear "by the consubstantial Trinity and the Holy Gospels," and accurse and anathematize all those who held the contrary; yet these words did so much scandalize and offend the Glosser upon Gratian, that he could not forbear to admonish the reader, that "unless he understood those words in a sound sense, he would fall into a greater heresy than that of Berengarius[c]." Not without reason, for the most favourable of the Schoolmen[d] do confess, that these words are not properly and literally true, but figuratively and metonymically, understanding the thing containing by the thing contained;

["non solum sacramento sed in veritate."]

["nisi *sane* intelligas &c."]

[b] Ex Act. Syn. Rom. sub Nicol. Secund. [A.D. 1059. ap. Labb. Concil. tom. ix. p. 1101.]

[c] Gloss. in Gratian. De Consecrat. Distinct. ii. c. 'Ego Berengar.'

[d] [So Bellarmine, De Sacram. Euchar. lib. iii. c. 24. tom. ii. pp. 767—769.]

as to say the Body of Christ is broken or bruised, because the quantity or *species* of Bread are broken and bruised. They might as well say, that the Body and Blood of Christ becomes fusty and sour, as often as the *species* of Bread and Wine before their corruption become fusty and sour. But the retractation of Berengarius can admit no such figurative sense;—that "the Body and Blood of Christ in the Sacrament are divided and bruised sensibly, not only in the sacrament" (that is the *species*) "but also in truth:" a most ignorant Capernaitical assertion; for the Body of Christ being not in the Sacrament *modo quantitativo*, according to their own tenet, but indivisibly, after a spiritual manner, without extrinsecal extension of parts, cannot in itself, or in truth, be either divided or bruised. Therefore others of the Schoolmen go more roundly and ingenuously to work, and confess, that 'it is an abusive and excessive expression,' 'not to be held or defended,' and that 'it happened to Berengarius' (they should have said to Pope Nicholas, and Cardinal Umbertus), 'as it doth with those who out of a detestation of one error incline to another[e].' Neither will it avail them any thing at all, that the Fathers have sometimes used such expressions of 'seeing Christ,' of 'touching Christ' in the Sacrament, of 'fastening our teeth in His Flesh,' and 'making our tongues red in His Blood.' There is a great difference between a sermon to the people and a solemn retractation before a judge. The Fathers do not say, that such expressions are true, not only sacramentally or figuratively,—(as they made Berengarius both say and accurse all others that held otherwise,)—but also properly, and in the things themselves. The Fathers never meant by these forms of speech to determine the manner of the Presence (which was

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[e] ["*Hyperbolice* locutus est et veritatem *excessit*." Gloss. in Gratian. De Consecrat. Distinct. ii. c. 'Utrum sub figura.'—"Quia ille (Berengar.) fuerat infamatus quod non credebat &c. . . . ideo ad sui purgationem per verba *excessiva* contrarium asseruit." Richard. de Med. Vill. In iv. Sentent. Distinct. ix. Qu. 1.]—["*Nec* modus iste" (scil. Berengar. in Confession.) "est *tenendus*."] Alexand. [De Hales, Summ. P. iv. Qu. 10. Memb. 9. Art. i. in Resolutione.] Bonavent. [In iv. Sentent. Distinct. xii. P. i. Art. iii. qu. 1. in Conclusione.]—["Sic enim frequenter *volentes errorem aliquem damnare* excessive locuti sunt, ut penitus recederent ab errore; quasi *declinare viderentur in alterum extremum errorem*, scilicet sibi oppositum."] Gabriel [Biel in Canon. Miss. Lect. lxxx. § De Verit. Fraction. fol. 211. Lugd. 1542.]—[See Bp. Cosin's Hist. of Transubstant. c. 7. § 10.]

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not dreamt of in their days), but to raise the devotion of their hearers and readers; to advertise the people of God, that they should not rest in the external symbols, or signs, but principally be intent upon the invisible grace: which was both lawful and commendable for them to do. Leave us their primitive liberty, and we will not refrain from the like expressions.

I urge this to shew, that the new doctrine of Transubstantiation is so far from being an old article of Faith, that it was not well digested, nor rightly understood, in any tolerable measure, by the greatest clerks, and most concerned, above a thousand years after Christ.

The [first] determination of the manner of the Presence.

The first definition or determination of this manner of the 18
Presence was yet later, in the Council of Lateran[f], in the days of Innocent the Third, after the year 1200. "*Ante Lateranense Concilium Transubstantiatio non fuit dogma fidei*[g]." And what the fruit of it was, let Vasquez[h] bear witness. "*Audito nomine Transubstantiationis*, &c."—"The very name of Transubstantiation being but heard, so great a controversy did arise among the later schoolmen concerning the nature thereof, that the more they endeavoured to wind themselves out, the more they wrapped themselves in greater difficulties, whereby the mystery of Faith became more difficult both to be explained and to be understood, and more exposed to the cavils of its adversaries." He adds, that "the name of conversion and transubstantiation gave occasion to these controversies."

It opened a floodgate to a deluge of controversies.

No sooner was this bell rung out, no sooner was this fatal sentence given, but, as if Pandora's box had been newly set wide open, whole swarms of noisome questions and debates did fill the schools.

Then it began to be disputed by what means this change comes: whether by the Benediction of the Elements, or by

[f] [Decret. Concil. Later. A.D. 1215, c. 1. ap. Labb. Concil. tom. xi. p. 143. B.]

[g] Scotus In iv. Sentent. Distinct. xi. Qu. 3. [§ 15. "Ubi" (scil. in Symbol. Innocent. Papæ et Concil. Lateran.) "explicite ponitur veritas aliquorum credendorum" (he is speaking of transubstantiation) "magis explicite quam habebatur in Symbolo Apostolorum vel Athanasii vel Nicæni;"—which passage is reported by Bellarm. (De Sacram. Eucharist. lib. iii. c. 23. tom. ii. p. 761. A.) in the words quoted by Bramhall in the text.]

[h] Vazquez [In Tert. Part. D. Thomæ] Qu. 75. [Art. 8.] Disp. clxxxi. c. 1. [num. 2.]

the repetition of these words of Christ, "This is My Body." The common current of your schools is for the latter; but your judicious Archbishop of Cæsarea[i], since the Council of Trent, in a book dedicated to Sixtus the Fifth, produceth great reason to the contrary. DISCOURSE I.

Then was the question started, what the demonstrative pronoun *Hoc* signifies in these words, "This is my Body;" whether this thing, or this substance, or this Bread, or this Body, or this meat, or these accidents, or that which is contained under these *species*, or this *individuum vagum*, or lastly (which seems stranger than all the rest) this nothing[k].

Then it began to be argued, whether the Elements were annihilated: whether the matter and form of them being destroyed, their essence did yet remain; or the essence being converted, the existence remained: whether the sacramental existence of the Body and Blood of Christ do depend upon its natural existence: whether the whole Host were transubstantiated, or only some parts of it, that is, such parts as should be distributed to worthy communicants; or whether in those parts of the Host, which were distributed unto unworthy communicants, the matter of bread and wine did not return[l]: whether the Deity did assume the Bread, or the *species* thereof, by a new hypostatical union, called *impanation*[m], either absolutely, or respectively *mediante Corpore:* whether the Body and Blood of Christ might be present in the Sacrament without transubstantiation, with the Bread or without the Bread: whether a body may be transubstantiated into a Spirit; and (which is most strange) whether a creature might be transubstantiated into the Deity [n].

Then the schoolmen began to wrangle what manner of change this was; whether a material change, or a formal change; or a change of the whole substance, both matter and

[i] [Christopher de Capite Fontium, or Christofle de Cheffontaines, Archbp. of Cæsarea, in the dedicatory epistle prefixed to his Varii Tractat. et Disputat.] De Necessar. Correct. Scholast. Theolog. [Paris. 1586].

[k] Gloss. in Gratian. De Consecrat. Distinct. ii. c. 'Timorem.'

[l] Guitmund. De Verit. [Corp. et Sang. Christi in Euchar.] lib. iii. [ap. Biblioth. Patr. tom. xi. pp. 372, sq.]

[m] [*Impanation*:—scil. "non adesse in Eucharistia Humanum seu Carneum Christi Corpus sumptum ex B. Virgine Matre, sed *Corpus Panaceum* assumptum hypostatice a Verbo;" as the word is explained by Henriquez, Summ. Theol. Moral. lib. viii. c. 20. p. 441. Venet. 1596.]

[n] Vazquez [In Tert. Part. D. Thomæ. Qu. 75. Art. 8.] Disput. clxxxiv. c. 1. [num. 4.]

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form: and if it were a conversion of the whole substance, then whether it was by way of *production*, or by *adduction*, or by *conservation:* each of which greater squadrons are subdivided into several lesser parties, speaking as different language as the builders of Babel, pestering and perplexing one another with inextricable difficultics.

It cannot be a new *production* (saith one); because the Body of Christ, whereinto the Elements are supposed to be converted, did pre-exist before the change; neither can that Body which is made of Bread, be the same Body with that which was born of a Virgin.

If it be not by production (say others), but only by *adduction*, then it is not a trans*substanti*ation, but a trans*ubi*ation; not a change of natures, but a local succession: then the Priest is not the 'maker of his Maker[o]' (as they use to brag), but only puts Him into a new Positure or Presence under the *species* of Bread and Wine.

Howbeit this way by adduction be "the more common and the safer way" (if we may trust Bellarmine[p]), yet, of all conversions or changes, it hath least affinity with transubstantiation. Suppose the water had not been turned into wine at Cana of Galilee by our Saviour, but poured out, or utterly destroyed, and wine new created, or adduced by miracle into the water-pots, in such a manner that the introduction of the wine should be the expulsion of the water not only *comitanter* but *causaliter;* in such case it had been no transubstantiation. Moses his rod was truly changed into a serpent, but it was by production; if his rod had been conveyed away invisibly by legerdemain, and a serpent had been adduced into the place of it, what transubstantiation had this been? None at all; no, though the adduction of the serpent had been the means of the expulsion and de-

[Joh. ii. 1—10.]

[Exod. iv. 3.]

19

[o] ["Ut... *Deum cuncta creantem* suo signaculo *creent*" (sacerdotes). Urban the Second, and the Council of Rome A. D. 1099, as reported by Simeon Dunelm. Histor. de Gestis Reg. Anglor. ap. Twysden Histor. Anglic. Scriptor. Decem, p. 224. Lond. 1652; Brompton, Chron. ibid. p. 994; and Hoveden, Chron. ap. Savil. Rer. Anglic. Script. post Bedam, p. 467.—"Quum *creator* sit" (sacerdos) "*Creatoris sui.*" Stella Clericorum Cuilibet Clero Summe Necessaria, printed by Pynson at the end of the fifteenth or beginning of the sixteenth century; see Ames' Typograph. Antiquit. by Dibdin, vol. ii. p. 547.—Quoted by Jer. Taylor, On the Real Pres. Pref. vol. ix. p. ccccviii.]

[p] [Bellarm. De Sacram. Euchar. lib. iii. c. 18. tom. ii. pp. 735. B, 738. B.]

struction of the rod. It is so far from transubstantiation, that it is no conversion at all. The substance of the Elements is not converted, for that is supposed to be destroyed. The accidents are not converted, but remain the same they were. It is no adduction at all, when the Body of Christ (which is the thing supposed to be adduced) remains still in Heaven, where it was before.

It cannot be a *conservative* conversion (say others): for the same individual thing cannot be conserved bytwo total distinct conservations; but if this were a conservative conversion, the Body of Christ should be conserved by two total distinct conservations, the one in Heaven, the other in earth; yea, by ten thousand distinct total conservations upon earth, even as many as there are consecrated Hosts: "which seems to be ridiculous, and without any necessity administers great occasion to the adversaries of Christian religion, of jesting and deriding the mysteries of our Faith[q]."

So here we have a transubstantiation without transubstantiation; a production of a *modus* or manner of being, for a production of a substance; an annihilation supposed, yet no annihilation confessed; an adduction, without any adduction; a *terminus ad quem*, without a *terminus à quo*. Who shall reconcile us to ourselves? But the end is not yet.

Then grew up the question, what is the proper adequate Body which is contained under the *species* or accidents; whether a material Body, or a substantial Body, or a living Body, or an organical Body, or a human Body; whether it have weight or not, and why it is not perceived; whether it can be seen by the eye of mortal man; whether it can act or suffer any thing; whether it be moveable or immovcable; whether by itself, or by accident, or by both; whether it can move in one place and rest in another, or be moved with two contrary motions, as upwards and downwards, southwards and northwards, at the same time.

Add to these, whether the Soul of Christ, and the Deity, and the whole Trinity, do follow the Body and Blood of Christ under either species, by concomitance; whether the Sacramental Body must have suffered the same things with

[q] Vazquez. [In Tert. Part. D. Thomæ] [num. 28.]] Qu. 75. [Art. 8.] Disput. clxxxii. c. 4.

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the Natural Body; as, supposing that an Host, consecrated at Christ's Last Supper, had been reserved until after His Passion, whether Christ must have died, and His Blood have been actually shed, in the Sacrament[r]; yea, whether those wounds, that were imprinted by the whips in His Natural Body, might and should have been found in His Sacramental Body without flagellation[s].

Likewise, what Blood of Christ is in the Sacrament; whether that Blood only which was shed, or that Blood only which remained in the Body, or both the one and the other; and whether that Blood which was shed was assumed again by the Humanity in the Resurrection.

Then began those paradoxical questions to be first agitated in the schools: whether the same individual body, without division or discontinuation from itself, can be locally in ten thousand places, yea, in Heaven and in earth, at the same time; or if not locally, yet whether it can be spiritually and indivisibly; and whether it be not the same as to this purpose, whether a body be locally or spiritually present in more places than one. Bellarmine[t] seems to incline to the affirmative:—"Though to be any where sacramentally doth not imply the taking up of a place, yet it implies a true and real Presence; and if it be in more Hosts or Altars than one, it seems no less opposite unto indivisibility, than the filling up of many places." Nay, he is past seeming positive, that "without doubt, if a body cannot be in two places locally, it cannot be sacramentally in two places." Compare[u] this of Bellarmine with that of Aquinas[x], that "it is not possible for one body to be in more places than one locally, no, not by miracle, because it implies a contradiction;" and consider upon what tottering foundations you build articles of Faith. It is impossible, and implies a contradiction, for the Body of Christ to be locally in more Hosts than one at the same time (saith Aquinas). But it is as impossible, and implies a contradiction as much, for the Body of Christ to be sacramentally in more Hosts than

[r] [Thom. Aquin. In iv. Sentent. Distinct. xi. Qu. iii. Art. 5.]

[s] [Vazquez in Tert. Part. D. Thomæ Qu. 75. Art. 8. Disput. clxxxii. c. 4. num. 26.]

[t] De Sacram. Euchar. lib. iii. c. 3. in fin. [Op. tom. ii. p. 677. B. C.]

[u] [See Jer. Taylor on the Real Pres. sect. 11. § 21. vol. x. pp. 35, 36. —and Bp. Hall's Peace of Rome, Decade iii. § 9.]

[x] In iv. Sentent. Distinct. xliv. Qu. ii. Art. 2. qu. 3. ['Ad quartum.']

one at the same time as to be locally (saith Bellarmine). The inference is plain and obvious.

And many such strange questions are moved:—as whether it be possible the thing contained should be a thousand times greater than the thing containing; whether a definitive being in a place do not imply a not-being out of that place; whether more bodies than one can be in one and the same place; whether there can be a penetration of dimensions; whether a body can subsist after a spiritual manner, so as to take up no place at all, but to be wholly in the whole, and wholly in every part: moreover, whether the whole Body and Blood of Christ be in every particle of the Bread, and of the Cup; and if it be, then whether only after the division of the Bread and Wine, or before division also; and in how many parts, and in which parts, is the whole Body and Blood of Christ; whether in the least parts; and if in the least parts, then whether in the least in kind, or the least in quantity; that is, so long as the *species* may retain the name of bread and wine, or so long as the matter is divisible; and whether the Body and Blood of Christ be also in the indivisible parts, as points, and lines, and superficies: lastly, whether accidents can subsist without their subjects, that is, whether they can be both accidents, and no accidents; whether all the accidents of the elements do remain, and particularly whether the quantity doth remain; whether the other accidents do inhere in the quantity as their subject, that is, whether an accident can have an accident; whether the quantity of Christ's Body be there; and whether it be there after a quantitative manner, with extension of parts, either extrinsecal or intrinsecal: and whether the quantity of the Body of Christ be distinct and figured, or indistinct and unfigured; whether the accidents can nourish or make drunken, or corrupt and a new Body be generated of them; and what supplies the place of the matter in such generation,—whether the quantity, or the Body of Christ, or the old matter of the Bread and Wine restored by miracle, or new matter created by God; and how long in such corruption doth the Body of Christ continue.

Whosoever is but moderately versed in your great doctors, must needs know that these questions are not the private

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doubts or debates of single school-men, but the common garboils and general engagements of your whole schools;—wherefore it had been a mere vanity to cite every particular author for each question, and would have made the margin swell ten times greater than the text.

From this bold determination of the manner of the Presence how, have flowed two other differences:

[Two further differences have flowed from this bold determination of the manner of the Presence.]

I. First, the detention of the Cup from the laity, merely upon presumption of concomitance, first decreed in the Council of Constance[y], after the year 1400. Let what will become of concomitance, whilst we keep ourselves to the Institution of Christ and the universal practice of the Primitive Church. It was not for nothing that our Saviour did distinguish His Body from His Blood, not only in the consecration, but also in the distribution, of the Sacrament.

By the way give me leave to represent a contradiction in Bellarmine, which I am not able to reconcile. In one place he saith[z], "The providence of God is marvellous in Holy Scripture: for St. Luke hath put these words '*do you this*' after the Sacrament given under the form of Bread, but he repeated it not after the giving of the Cup; that we might understand, that the Lord commanded that the Sacrament should be distributed unto all under the form of Bread, but not under the form of Wine." And yet in the next chapter but one of the same Book[a] he doth positively determine the contrary, upon the ground of concomitance,—that "the Bread may be taken away if the Cup be given, but both cannot be taken away together." Can that be taken away which Christ hath expressly commanded to be given to all?

[Lu. xxii. 19, 20.]

II. A second difference flowing from Transubstantiation, 21
is about the adoration of the Sacrament; one of those impediments which hinder our communication with you in the celebration of Divine Offices. We deny not a venerable respect unto the consecrate Elements, not only as love-tokens sent us by our best Friend, but as the instruments ordained by our Saviour to convey to us the Merits of His Passion; but [and?] for the Person of Christ, God forbid that we should

[y] [Concil. Constant. (A.D. 1415.) Sess. xiii. ap. Labb. Concil. tom. xii. p. 100.]

[z] Bellarm. de Sacram. Euchar. lib. iv. c. 25. [Op. tom. ii. p. 911. C.]

[a] [Bellarm. ibid.] c. 27. [p. 925. C.]

deny Him Divine worship at any time, and especially in the use of this Holy Sacrament; we believe with St. Austin[b], that "no man eats of that Flesh, but first he adores:"—but that which offends us is this, that you teach and require all men to adore the very Sacrament with Divine honour[c]. To this end you hold it out to the people. To this end *Corpus Christi* Day was instituted about three hundred years since[d]. Yet we know that even upon your own grounds you cannot, without a particular revelation, have any infallible assurance that any Host is consecrated; and consequently you have no assurance that you do not commit material idolatry. But that which weighs most with us is this, that we dare not give Divine worship unto any creature, no, not to the very Humanity of Christ in the abstract (much less to the Host), but to the *Whole* Person of Christ, God and Man, by reason of the hypostatical union between the Child of the blessed Virgin Mary, and the Eternal Son, "Who is God over all Blessed for ever[e]." [Rom. ix. 5.] Shew us such an union betwixt the Deity and the Elements, or accidents, and you say something. But you pretend no such things. The highest that you dare go is this; "as they that adored Christ when He was upon earth, did after a certain kind of manner adore His garments[f]." Is this all? This is 'after a certain kind of manner' indeed. We have enough. There is no more adoration due to the Sacrament, than to the garments which Christ did wear upon earth. Exact no more. "Quodam modo."

Thus the seamless Coat of Christ is torn in pieces; thus Faith is minced into shreds, and spun up into niceties, more subtle than the webs of spiders;—

> "Fidem minutis dissecant ambagibus,
> "Ut quisque est linguâ nequior[g];"—

because curious wits cannot content themselves to touch hot coals with tongs, but they must take them up with their naked fingers; nor to apprehend mysteries of religion by faith, without descanting upon them, and determining them

[b] ["Nemo... illam Carnem manducat, nisi prius adoraverit." August. In Ps. xcviii. v. 9. tom. iv. p. 1065. C.]

[c] [Concil. Trident. Sess. xiii. cap. 5. et can. 6.]

[d] Concil. Vienn. [quarti. A.D. 1311. See the decree inter Constitut. Clementin. lib. iii. Tit. xvi. De Reliq. et Venerat. Sanctor.]

[e] [See below p. 45; and Thorndike's Epilogue, bk. iii. c. 30, beginn.]

[f] Bellarm. De Sacram. Euchar. lib. iv. c. 29. [Op. tom. ii. p. 929. A.]

[g] [Prudent. Ἀποθεωσ. Præf. 2da. vv. 21, 22.]

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by reason, whilst themselves confess that they are incomprehensible by human reason, and imperceptible by man's imagination;—how Christ is present in the Sacrament, "can neither be perceived by sense, nor by imagination[h]." The more inexcusable is their presumption to anatomize mysteries, and to determine supernatural not-revealed truths upon their own heads, which, if they were revealed, were not possible to be comprehended by mortal man. As vain an attempt, as if a child should think to lade out all the water out of the sea with a cockle-shell. "Secret things belong to the Lord our God, but things revealed unto us, and our children for ever."

Deut. xxix. 29.

This is the reason why we rest in the words of Christ, "This is My Body,"—leaving the manner to Him that made the Sacrament. We know it is sacramental, and therefore efficacious, because God was never wanting to His own ordinances, where man did not set a bar against himself: but whether it be corporeally or spiritually (I mean not only after the manner of a Spirit, but in a spiritual sense[i]); whether it be in the soul only, or in the Host also; and if in the Host, whether by consubstantiation or transubstantiation; whether by production, or adduction, or conservation, or assumption, or by whatsoever other way bold and blind men dare conjecture;—we determine not. "*Motum sentimus, modum nescimus, Præsentiam credimus*[k]."

This was the belief of the Primitive Church, this was the Faith of the ancient Fathers, who were never acquainted with these modern questions *de modo*, which edify not, but expose Christian religion to contempt. We know what to think and what to say with probability, modesty, and submission, in the schools; but we dare neither screw up the 22 question to such a height, nor dictate our opinions to others so magisterially as articles of Faith.

"Nescire velle quæ Magister maximus
"Docere non vult, erudita est inscitia."

[h] Thom. Aquin. [Summ.] Pars iii. Qu. 76. Art. 7. ['Respondeo.']

[i] ["By 'spiritually' they" (Roman Catholics) "mean 'present after the manner of a spirit;' by 'spiritually' we mean 'present to our spirits only.'" Jer. Taylor on the Real Pres. sect. 1. vol. ix. p. 428; see Bellarm. De Sacram. Euchar. lib. i. c. 2. Op. tom. ii. p. 467. B. C.]

[k] [A saying of] Durandus [reported by Mich. Neander, Synops. Chronicor. fol. 90.]

DISCOURSE I. — Against multiplying of questions and controversies. [1 Tim. vi. 4, 5.]

O! how happy had the Christian world been, if scholars could have sat down contented with a latitude of general, sufficient, saving truth (which when all is done must be the olive-branch of peace, to shew that the deluge of ecclesiastical division is abated), without wading too far into particular subtilties, or "doting about questions and logomachies, whereof cometh envy, strife, railings, evil surmisings, perverse disputings." Old controversies evermore raise up new controversies, and yet more controversies, as circles in the water do produce other circles.

Now especially these scholastical quarrels seem to be unseasonable, when Zeno's school is newly opened in the world, who 'sometimes wanted opinions, but never wanted arguments.' Now, when atheism and sacrilege are become the mode of the times; now, when all the fundamentals of theology, morality, and policy, are undermined and ready to be blown up; now, when the unhappy contentions of great princes, or their ministers, have hazarded the very being of monarchy and Christianity; now, when Bellona shakes her bloody whip over this kingdom[1];—it becometh well all good Christians and subjects, to leave their litigious questions, and to bring water to quench the fire of civil dissension already kindled, rather than to blow the coals of discord, and to render themselves censurable by all discreet persons: like that half-witted fellow personated in the orator, '*Qui cum capiti mederi debuisset, reduviam curavit*'—'when his head was extremely distempered, he busied himself about a small push on his finger's end[m].'

The occasion of this Discourse [the Preface and Epistle Dedicatory of La Milletière's "Victoire de la Vérité"].

BUT that which createth this trouble to you and me at this time, is your Preface, and Epistle Dedicatory; wherein, to adorn your vainly-imagined 'Victory' in an unseasonable controversy, you rest not contented that your adversary grace your triumph, unless the King of Great Britain, and all his subjects, yea and all Protestants besides, attend your chariot. Neither do you only desire this, but augurate it; or rather

[1] [Bramhall appears to have *written* his Answer at Paris, where Charles the Second resided from 1651 to 1654. France was at war during that period with both Spain and the Empire, and suffering at the same time under the horrors of civil war through the contests of the 'Mazarins' and 'Frondeurs.' Paris itself was entered by the Prince of Condé after a sharp battle, and the King (Louis XIV., then a minor) driven out of it, in 1651. See also below, p. 78.]

[m] [Cic. pro Rosc. Amerin. c. 44.]

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you relate it as a thing already as good as done: for you tell him, that 'his eyes and his ears do hear and see those truths, which make him to know the faults of that new religion which he had sucked in with his milk;' you set forth the causes of his conversion, 'the tears of his mother,' and 'the blood of his father,' whom you suppose (against evident truth) to have died an invisible member of your Roman Catholic Church; and you prescribe the means to perfect his conversion, which must be 'a conference of your theologians with the ministers of Charenton.'

[La Millettière's Epistle] p. 7. [marginal paging.] [pp. 13, 14.]

[p. 9.]

The indiscretion of the Author [La Millettière].

If your *charity* be not to be blamed, to wish no worse to another than you do to yourself, yet prudent men desire more *discretion* in you, than to have presented such a treatise to the view of the world under his Majesty's protection, without his license, and against his conscience. Had you not heard that such groundless insinuations as these, and other private whisperings concerning his father's apostatizing to the Roman Religion, did lose him the hearts of many subjects? If you did, why would you insist in the same steps, to deprive the son of all possibility of recovering them?

To no purpose. The King is already a better Catholic than himself.

If your intention be only to invite his Majesty to embrace the Catholic Faith, you might have spared both your oil and labour. The Catholic Faith flourished 1,200 years in the world before Transubstantiation was defined among yourselves. Persons better acquainted with the primitive times than yourself (unless you wrong one another) do acknowledge, that "the Fathers did not touch either the word or the matter of transubstantiation[n]." Mark it well, neither name nor thing. His Majesty doth firmly believe all supernatural truth revealed in Sacred Writ. He embraceth cheerfully whatsoever the Holy Apostles, or the Nicene Fathers, or blessed Athanasius, in their respective Creeds or Summaries of Catholic Faith, did set down as necessary to be believed.

[n] Discursus Modestus Jesuitarum p. 13. ["*Item* transubstantiationis Patres ne attigisse quidem;" as quoted by Jer. Taylor, Dissuasive P. i. § 5. vol. x. p. 156.]—Watson's [Decachordon of] Quodlibets, Quodlib. 2. Art. 4. [ed. 1602., who there accuses the Jesuits of an 'heretical and most dangerous assertion,' that "the auncient Fathers *rem* transubstantiationis nc" (sic) "attigerunt."]—['The first that mention the *word* Transubstantiation, are Petrus Blesensis (in Epist. 140), who lived under Pope Alexander the Third (A. D. 1159—1181), and Stephen Eduensis, Bishop of Autun about the year 1100 (in his Treatise De Sacram. Altar., ap. Biblioth. Patr. tom. x. p. 418. C.).' Bishop Cosin, Hist. of Transubstant. c. 7. § 17.]

He is ready to receive whatsoever the Catholic Church of this age doth unanimously believe to be a particle of saving truth.

23 But, if you seek to obtrude upon him the Roman Church, with its adherents, for the Catholic Church,—excluding three parts of four of the Christian world from the communion of Christ,—or the opinions thereof, for articles and fundamentals of Catholic Faith; neither his reason, nor his religion, nor his charity, will suffer him to listen unto you. The truths received by our Church, are sufficient in point of Faith to make him a good Catholic. More than this your Roman Bishops, your Roman Church, your Tridentine Council, may not, cannot, obtrude upon him.

Not lawful to add to the old Creed.

Listen to the third general Council, that of Ephesus, which decreed, that "it should be lawful for no man to publish or compose another Faith" or Creed "than that which was defined by the Nicene Council;" and "that whosoever should dare to compose or offer any such to any persons willing to be converted from paganism, Judaism, or heresy, if they were Bishops or clerks, should be deposed,—if laymen, anathematized[o]." Suffer us to enjoy the same Creed the primitive Fathers did, "which none will say to have been insufficient, except they be mad," as was alleged by the Greeks in the Council of Florence[p]. You have violated this canon, you have obtruded a new Creed upon Christendom[q]; new, I say, not in words only, but in sense also.

What are additions to the Creed, and what are only explications. [I. Things *de Symbolo.*]

Some things are *de Symbolo*, some things are *contra Symbolum*, and some things are only *præter Symbolum*[r].

Some things are contained in the Creed, either expressly or virtually, either in the letter or in the sense, and may be deduced by evident consequence from the Creed; as the Deity of Christ, His Two Natures, the Procession of the Holy Ghost. The addition of these was properly no addition,

[o] Concil. Ephes. [A.D. 431.] Part. Secund. Act. 6. c. 7. [ap. Labb. Concil. tom. iii. p. 689. A.]

[p] Concil. Florentin. [A.D. 1439.] Sess. x. [ap. Labb. Concil. tom. xiii. p. 164. D.]

[q] Profess. Fidei in Bull. Pii Quarti. [scil. Tridentina.]

[r] ["Est additio, in qua additum est *contrarium*; et est in qua additum est *diversum*; et est in qua additum est *consonum*. Prima additio est erroris; secunda, præsumptionis...; tertia, fidelis instructionis." Cardin. Bonaventura In Sentent. Prolog. dub. 2., speaking of additions to Scripture. His distinction was applied at the Council of Florence (Sess. x. as above, p. 159. C.) to the Creeds, in the question of the added Article concerning the Procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son. See also Bramhall's Schism Guarded, sect. i. c. 11. (Works, pp. 347, 348. fol. edit.), Discourse iv. Part i.]

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[II. Things *contra Symbolum.*] Secondly, some things are *contra Symbolum*—contrary to the Symbolical Faith, and either expressly or virtually overthrow some article of it. These additions are not only unlawful, but heretical also in themselves, and after conviction render a man a formal heretic:—whether some of your additions be not of this nature, I will not now dispute.

[III. Things *præter Symbolum.*] Thirdly, some things are neither of the Faith, nor against the Faith, but only besides the Faith; that is, opinions or truths of an inferior nature, which are not so necessary to be actually known: for though all revealed truths be alike necessary to be believed when they are known, yet all revealed truths are not alike necessary to be known. It is not denied but that general or provincial Councils may make constitutions concerning these for unity and uniformity, and oblige all such as are subject to their jurisdiction to receive them, either actively or passively, without contumacy or opposition. But to make these, or any of these, a part of the Creed, and to oblige all Christians under pain of damnation to know and believe them, is really to add to the Creed, and to change the Symbolical, Apostolical Faith, to which none can add, from which none can take away; and comes within the compass of St. Paul's curse,—"If we, or an Angel from Heaven, shall preach unto you any other Gospel" (or Faith) "than that which we have preached, let him be accursed." Such are, your universality of the Roman Church by the institution of Christ (to make her the Mother of her Grandmother the Church of Jerusalem, and the Mistress of her many elder Sisters), your doctrine of Purgatory and Indulgences, and the Worship of Images, and all other novelties defined in the Council of Trent; all which are comprehended in your new Roman Creed, and obtruded by you upon all the world to be

Gal. i. 8.

[s] Thom. Aquin. [Summ.] Secund. Secund. Part. Qu. 1. Art. 10. [viz. 'Utrum ad Summum Pontificem pertineat Fidei Symbolum ordinare:'—a question which Aquinas determines in the affirmative, but for this, among other reasons, that "editio Symboli facta est *in Synodo generali*, sed hujusmodi Synodus authoritate solius Summi Pontificis potest congregari."]

[t] [Bramhall's Vindication of the Church of England, c. 9, beginn., and the corresponding chap. in the Replication; Discourses ii. and iii. Part i.]

believed under pain of damnation. He that can extract all these out of the old Apostolic Creed, must needs be an excellent chemist, and may safely undertake to 'draw water out of a pumice [u].' Discourse I.

That afflictions come not by chance,—that prosperity is no evidence of God's favour, or adversity of His hatred,—that crosses imposed by God upon His servants, look more forwards towards their amendment, than backwards to their demerits, and proceed not from a Judge revenging, but from a Father correcting, or (which you have omitted) from a Lord Paramount, proving and magnifying before the world His own graces in His servants for His glory and their advantage,—are undeniable truths which we readily admit. As likewise, that the dim eye of man cannot penetrate into the secret dispensations of God's temporal judgments and mercies in this life, so as to say, this man is punished, that other chastised, this third is only proved. pp. 1, 2. Crosses are not always punishments, but sometimes corrections, or trials. 24

But you forget all this soon after, when you take upon you to search into, yea more, to determine, the grounds and reasons, why 'the Hand of God,' as well as the Parliament, 'hath been so heavy upon the head of his late Majesty, and his Royal son:' namely, on God's part, 'because he called himself "The Head of the Church," God purposing by his punishment to teach all other Princes that are in the schism, with what severity He can vindicate His glory, in the injury done unto the unity and authority of His Church;' and on the Parliament's part, 'because he would not consent to the abolition of Episcopacy, and suppression of the Liturgy and ceremonies established in the Church of England.' Which the Author presently forgets. p. 2. p. 4. [p. 2.]

First, what warrant have you to enquire into the actions of that blessed Saint and Martyr, which of them should be the causes of his sufferings? not remembering that the Disciples received a check from their Master upon the like presumption; "Who sinned, this man, or his parents, that he was born blind? Jesus answered, Neither hath this man sinned, nor his parents, but that the works of God should be made manifest in him." Better grounds of the sufferings of his Majesty [Charles the First] than those of the Author. John ix. 2, 3.

The heroical virtues, the flaming charity, the admirable

[u] ["Aquam a pumice postulare." Plaut. Pers. i. 1. 42.]

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patience, the rare humility, the exemplary chastity, the constant and frequent devotions, and the invincible courage of that happy Prince, not daunted with the ugly face of a most horrid death, have rendered him the glory of his country, the honour of that Church whereof he was the chiefest member, the admiration of Christendom, and a pattern for all princes, of what communion soever, to imitate unto the end of the world. His sufferings were palms, his prison a Paradise, and his death-day the birth-day of his happiness[x]:—whom his enemies advantaged more by their cruelty, than they could have done by their courtesy; they deprived him of a corruptible crown, and invested him with a crown of glory; they snatched him from the sweet society of his dearest spouse, and from most hopeful "olive branches," to place him in the bosom of the Holy Angels. This alone is ground enough for his sufferings,—to manifest unto the world those transcendent and unparalleled graces, wherewith God had enriched him, to which his sufferings gave the greatest lustre, as the stars shine brightest in a dark night.

Ps. cxxviii. 3.

The Author's rash censure upon the Archbishop of Canterbury [Laud].

The like liberty you assume towards the other most glorious martyr, the late Archbishop of Canterbury, a man of profound learning, and exemplary life, of clean hands, of a most sincere heart, a patron of all good learning, a professor of ancient truth; a great friend, indeed, and earnest pursuer, of order, unity, and uniformity in religion, but most free from all sinister ends, either avaricious or ambitious, wherewith you do uncharitably charge him, as if he sought only his own grandeur, 'to make himself the head of a schismatical body.' In brief, you therefore censure him, because you did not know him. I wish all your great ecclesiastics had his innocency, and fervent zeal for God's Church and the peace thereof, to plead for them at the Day of Judgment.

[p. 3.]

By applying these particular afflictions according to your own ungrounded fancy, what a wide gap have you opened to the liberty and boldness of other men! who, if they should assume to themselves the same freedom that you have done, might say as much, with as much reason, concerning the

[x] ["Τὴν τοῦ μαρτυρίου αὐτοῦ ἡμέραν γενέθλιον." Epist. Eccles. Smyrn. de Polycarp. Martyr. ap. Euseb. Hist. Eccles. lib. iv. c. 15. p. 135. B. ed. Vales.]

pressures of other great princes abroad,—that God afflicts them, because they will not become Protestants,—as you can say that God afflicted our late King, because he would not turn Papist. Discourse I.

But if you will not allow his Majesty's sufferings to be merely probatory, and if (for your satisfaction) there must be a weight of sin found out to move the wheel of God's justice, why do you not rather fix upon the body of his subjects, or at least a disloyal part of them? We confess that the best of us did not deserve such a jewel; that God might justly snatch him from us in His wrath for our ingratitude. Reason, religion, and experience do all teach us, that it is usual with Almighty God to look upon a body politic, or ecclesiastic, as one man, and to deprive a perverse people of a good and gracious governor; as an expert physician, by opening a vein in one member, cures the distempers of another. "For the transgressions of a land, many are the princes thereof." Sovereigns may be taken away for the sins of their subjects. Prov. xxviii. 2.

It may be that two or three of our princes at the most (the greater part whereof were Roman Catholics) did style themselves, or give others leave to style them, the 'Heads of the Church within their dominions[y].' But no man can be so simple as to conceive that they intended a spiritual Headship, —to infuse the life and motion of grace into the hearts of the faithful; such an Head is Christ alone; no, nor yet an ecclesiastical Headship; we did never believe, that our Kings in their own persons could exercise any act pertaining either to the power of order or jurisdiction; nothing can give that to another, which it hath not itself. They meant only a civil or political Head, as Saul is called "the Head of the Tribes of Israel;" to see that public peace be preserved; to see that all subjects, as well ecclesiastics as others, do their duties in Not above two or three of our Princes called Heads of the Church. That is, only political Heads. 1 Sam. xv. 17.

y [The title of "In terris, *or* terra, Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ et Hibernicæ supremum Caput" was assumed by Henry the Eighth, A. D. 1534 (Stat. 26. Henry VIII. c. 1; see also 35 Henry VIII. c. 3. and 37 Henry VIII. c. 17); continued by Edward the Sixth (see Stat. 1. Edward VI. c. 12. sec. 6.,) by Lady Jane Grey (Proclamation, in Lord Somers' Tracts, vol. i. p. 53; she is omitted of course from Bramhall's reckoning), and in the beginning of her reign by Queen Mary; dropped by the last named Queen upon her marriage with Philip of Spain (see Stat. 1. and 2. Philip and Mary, c. 8. sec. 23.); exchanged by Queen Elizabeth for that of "Supreme Governor, &c. as well in all spiritual and ecclesiastical causes etc." (Oath of Supremacy, Stat. 1. Eliz. c. 1.); and never since resumed. Coke upon Littleton, 7. b.;—Nicolson's Eng. Histor. Library, Pt. iii. c. 1. pp. 178, 179. 3rd edit.]

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their several places; to see that all things be managed for that great and architectonical end, that is, the weal and benefit of the whole body politic, both for soul and body. If you will not trust me, hear our Church itself:—'When we attribute the sovereign government [of the Church] to the King, we do not give him any power to administer the Word or Sacraments; but only that prerogative which God in Holy Scripture hath always allowed to godly princes, to see that all states and orders of their subjects, ecclesiastical and civil, do their duties, and to punish those who are delinquent with the civil sword[z].' Here is no power ascribed, no punishment inflicted, but merely political; and this is approved and justified by S. Clara[a], both by reason, and by the examples of the Parliament of Paris: yet, by virtue of this political power, he is the keeper of both Tables, the preserver of true piety towards God, as well as right justice towards men; and is obliged to take care of the souls, as well as the skins and carcasses, of his subjects.

The Christian Emperors political Heads.

This power, though not this name, the Christian Emperors[b] of old assumed unto themselves;—to convocate Synods, to preside in Synods, to confirm Synods, to establish ecclesiastical laws, to receive appeals, to nominate Bishops, to eject Bishops, to suppress heresies, to compose ecclesiastical differences, in Councils, out of Councils, by themselves, by their delegates: all which is as clear in the history of the Church, as if it were written with a beam of the sun.

The old Kings of England political Heads.

This power, though not this name, the ancient Kings of England[c] ever exercised, not only before the Reformation, but before the Norman Conquest; as appears by the acts of their great Councils, by their Statutes, and Articles of the Clergy, by so many laws of provision against the Bishop of Rome's conferring ecclesiastical dignities and benefices upon foreigners, by so many sharp oppositions against the exactions and usurpations of the Church of Rome, by so many laws concerning the patronage of Bishoprics and investitures of

[z] Art. 37. [in substance, and the clause between brackets added.]

[a] Expos. Paraph. Artic. Confess. Anglic. art. 37. [pp. 410, 411. Lugd. 1635.]

[b] [Bramhall's Vindication of the Church of England, c. 6. (Works, pp. 88. 91. fol. edit.), Discourse ii. Part i.]

[c] [Bramhall's Vindication &c. c. 4. (Works, pp. 69, &c. fol. edit.), with the corresponding chap. in the Replication (Works, pp. 189, &c. fol. edit.), Discourses ii. and iii. Part i.]

Bishops, by so many examples of churchmen punished by the civil magistrate: of all which jewels the Roman Court had undoubtedly robbed the Crown, if the Peers and Prelates of the Kingdom had not come in to the rescue. By the ancient laws of England it is death, or at least a forfeiture of all his goods, for any man to publish the Pope's Bull without the King's license. The Pope's Legate without the King's leave could not enter into the realm. If an Ordinary did refuse to accept a resignation, the King might supply his defect. If any ecclesiastical court did exceed the bounds of its just power, either in the nature of the cause, or manner of proceeding, the King's prohibition had place[d]. So in effect the Kings of England were always the political 'Heads of the Church' within their own dominions. So the Kings of France are at this day.

Neither K. Charles [the First], K. James [the First], nor Q. Elizabeth, styled Heads of the Church.

But who told you that ever King Charles did call himself the 'Head of the Church?' thereby to merit such a heavy judgment. He did not, nor yet King James his father; nor Queen Elizabeth before them both, who took order in her first Parliament to have it left out of her title[e]. They thought that name did sound ill, and that it intrenched too far upon the right of their Saviour[f]. Therefore they declined it, and were called only 'Supreme Governors, in all causes, over all persons ecclesiastical and civil[g];' which is a title *de jure* inseparable from the crown of all Sovereign Princes: where it is wanting *de facto* (if any place be so unhappy to want it), the King is but half a King, and the Commonwealth a serpent with two heads.

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Thus, you see, you are doubly, and both ways miserably, mistaken. First, King Charles did never style himself 'Head of the Church,' nor could with patience endure to hear that title. Secondly, a political Headship is not 'injurious to the [p. 3.]

[d] See authorities for all these in Lord Coke's Reports, Caudrey's case. [part 5. case 1.]

[e] [See above, note y, p. 29.]

[f] [Queen Elizabeth's sentiments may be found in the well-known letter of Jewel to Bullinger (Collier's Church Hist. Pt. ii. bk. vi. vol. ii. p. 432. fol. edit.). King James speaks somewhat to the same purpose in his Apologia pro Jurament. Fidelitat. in fin.; but both his sentiments and those of King Charles, as well as the anecdote of the latter mentioned a few lines further on, might easily have come within the sphere of Bramhall's own knowledge. There does not appear to be any mention elsewhere, in the case of either monarch, of the precise point in question.]

[g] [Oath of Supremacy. Stat. 1. Eliz. c. 1. repealed 1. Will. and Mary, Sess. 1. c. 8.—Canon. 1603. art. i. in Can. 36, still in force.]

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unity, or authority, of the Church.' The Kings of Israel and Judah, the Christian Emperors, the English Kings before the Reformation, yea, even before the Conquest, and other sovereign princes of the Roman communion have owned it signally[h].

But it seems you have been told, or have read this, in the virulent writings of Sanders[i], or Parsons[k], or have heard of a ludicrous scoffing proposition of a marriage between the two Heads of the two Churches, Sixtus Quintus and Queen Elizabeth, for the reuniting forsooth of Christendom.

The Author's satisfaction, to persuade the Pope to leave that vain title.

All the satisfaction I should enjoin you, is to persuade the Bishop of Rome (if Gregory the Great were living, you could not fail of speeding[l],) to imitate the piety and humility of our princes; that is, to content himself with his Patriarchal dignity and primacy of order '*et principium unitatis*[m],' and to quit that much more presumptuous, and (if a Pope's word may pass for current) antichristian[n], term of the 'Head of the Catholic Church.' If the Pope be the Head of the Catholic Church, then the Catholic Church is the Pope's body, which would be but a harsh expression to Christian ears; then the Catholic Church should have no Head, when there is no Pope; two or three Heads, when there are two or three Popes; an unsound Head, when there is an heretical Pope; a broken Head, when the Pope is censured or deposed; and no Head, when the See is vacant. If the Church must have one universal, visible, ecclesiastical Head, a general Council may best pretend to that title.

[h] [Bramhall's Vindication, &c. cc. 6, 7; Discourse ii. Part i.]

[i] [De Visib. Monarch. Eccles. lib. vii. p. 151.—De Clave David. lib. v. c. 3. pp. 114, sq. lib. vi. c. 1. sec. 6. pp. 145, sq. sec. 8. p. 150. Würzb. 1592.—De Schism. Anglic. lib. iii. pp. 257, sq. Col. 1628.]

[k] [Warnword to Sir F. Hastings' Watchword, Encount. vi. in fin.—Warnword to Sir F. Hastings' Wasteword, Encount. i. c. 16. § 3. &c. c. 17. § 8. &c.—Three Conversions of Engl. P. i. c. 12. § 5.]

[l] [The protest of Gregory the Great against the assumption of the title of 'Episcopus Universalis' (or in other words, Head of the Catholic Church) by John, Patriarch of Constantinople, may be found in his letters; to John himself—Epist. lib. v. epist. 18., to others—Ibid. lib. v. epist. 20. 21. 43. lib. ix. epist. 68. Op. tom. ii. ed. Bened.]

[m] ["Petri cathedram . . . ecclesiam *principalem*, unde *unitas* sacerdotalis *exorta* est." Cyprian. ad Cornelium, Epist. 59. pp. 135, 136. "*Unitatis* ejusdem" (Ecclesiæ) "*originem* ab uno" (Petro) "incipientem." Id. De Unitate, Op. p. 107. "Ecclesia . . . . super Petrum *origine unitatis* . . . fundata." Id. ad Januar. &c., Epist. 70. p. 190.]

[n] [Greg. M. Epist. lib. v. epist. 21. Op. tom. ii. p. 751. C.—see also lib. v. epist. 43. ibid. p. 773. B. and lib. ix. epist. 68. ibid. p. 984. C.]

Neither are you more successful in your other reason, why the Parliament persecuted the King;—'because he maintained Episcopacy, both out of conscience and interest, which they ought to abolish.' For though it be easily admitted, that some seditious and heterodox persons had an evil eye both against monarchy and Episcopacy from the very beginning of these troubles, either out of a fiery zeal, or vain affectation of novelty (like those, who having the green-sickness prefer chalk and meal in a corner before wholesome meat at their father's table), or out of a greedy and covetous desire of gathering some sticks for themselves upon the fall of those great oaks; yet certainly they, who were the contrivers and principal actors in this business, did more malign Episcopacy for monarchy's sake, than monarchy for Episcopacy's. What end had the Nuncio's faction in Ireland against Episcopacy? whose mutinous courses apparently lost that kingdom[o]. When the King's consent to the abolition of Episcopacy in Scotland was extorted from him by the Presbyterian faction (which probably the prime authors do rue sufficiently by this time), were those Presbyterian Scots any thing more favourable to monarchy? To come to England, the chief scene of this bloody tragedy; if that party in Parliament had at first proposed any such thing as the abolition either of monarchy or Episcopacy, undoubtedly they had ruined their whole design; until daily tumults and uncontrollable uproars had chased away the greater, and sounder, part of both Houses:—their first protestation was solemnly made to God, both for King and Church, as they were by law established[p].

DISCOURSE I.

Hatred of Episcopacy not the true cause why the Parliament persecuted the King. [p. 2.]

Would you know then what it was that conjured up the storm among us? It was some feigned jealousies and fears (which the first broachers themselves knew well enough to be fables), dispersed cunningly among the people,—that the King purposed to subvert the fundamental laws of the King-

The true causes of the troubles in England. I.

[o] [John Baptista Rinuccini, Archbishop of Fermo, was sent into Ireland by Innocent X. as his nuncio, in 1645. An account of his proceedings, which certainly had no connection whatever with Episcopacy as such, may be found in Clarendon's Historical View of the Affairs of Ireland from 1640 to 1652, printed at the end of his Hist. of the Rebell., vol. iii. pp. 1019, &c., and more fully, from his own Memoirs, in Carte's Life of the D. of Ormond, vol. i. bk. iv. pp. 558, &c.]

[p] [See the 'Solemn Protestation,' taken by the House of Commons May 3, and by the House of Lords May 4, 5, 7, 10, and 11, A. D. 1641. in Nalson, vol. i. pp. 810, 811, and Clarend. Hist. of the Rebell., bk. iii. vol. i. pp. 335, 336.]

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II. but a few bulrushes. Secondly, that he meant to apostate from the Protestant religion to Popery, and to that end had raised the Irish Rebellion by secret encouragements and commissions: for which monstrous calumny they had no other foundation (except the solemn religious order of Divine service in his own chapel and cathedral churches), than some unseasonable disputes about an Altar or a Table; and the permission of the Pope's agent to make a short stay in England[q], more for reason of state than of religion; and some senseless fictions of some Irish rebels[r], who having a patent under the Great Seal of Ireland for their lands, to colour their barbarous murders, shewed it to the poor simple people as a commission from the King to levy forces; and, lastly, some impious pious frauds of some of your own party, whose private whispers and printed insinuations did give hopes that the Church of England was coming about to shake hands with the Roman in the points controverted; which was merely devised to gull some silly creatures, whom they found apt to be caught with chaff; for which they had no more pretext of truth than you have for your groundless intimations in this unwelcome Dedication.

These suspicions being compounded with covetousness, ambition, envy, emulation, desire of revenge, and discontent, were the source of all our calamities. Thus much you yourself confess in effect;—that 'this supposition, that the King
p. 3. and Bishops had an intention to re-establish the Roman Catholic religion, was the venom which the Puritan faction infused into the hearts of the people, to fill them with hatred against a King worthy of love; and the Parliament judged it

[q] [There appear to have been two agents from the Pope successively permitted to reside publicly in London, "first, Mr. Con, a Scottishman, and after him the Count Rosetti an Italian." Clarend. Hist. of the Rebell. bk. ii. vol. i. p. 209. See also Lord Somers' Tracts, vol. iv. pp. 50, &c. Con came to England in 1636 (Wood's Athen. Oxon. by Bliss, vol. iii. p. 387), and Rosetti left England in 1641 (Nelson, vol. ii. p. 328).]

[r] [Sir Phelim O'Neale, and his associates. See Clarendon's Historical View of the Affairs of Ireland, &c. as above, p. 1005.—Carte's Life of the D. of Ormond, bk. iii. vol. i. pp. 179, &c.,—and Hume's Hist. of Engl., Reign of Charles I. c. vi. vol. v. p. 304, and note. The calumny, that King Charles the First was concerned with the Irish Rebellion, is refuted at length by Bramhall in his Serpent Salve (Works, pp. 589, &c. fol. edit.), Discourse ii. Part ii.]

a favourable occasion for their design, to advance themselves to Sovereign authority.' Be judge yourself how much they are accessory to our sufferings, who either were, or are, the authors or fomenters of these damnable slanders.

There was yet one cause more of this cruel persecution, which I cannot conceal from you, because it concerns some of your old acquaintance. There was a Bishop[s] in the world (losers must have leave to talk) whose privy purse and subtle counsels did help to kindle that unnatural war in his Majesty's three Kingdoms. *Our* Cardinal, Wolsey, complained before his death, 'That he had served his King better than his God[t]:' but certainly this practice in your friend[u] was neither good service to his God, to be the author of the effusion of so much innocent blood; nor yet to his King, to let the world see such a dangerous precedent. 'It is high time for a man to look to himself, when his next neighbour's house is all on a flame[x].'

As hitherto I have followed your steps, though not altogether in your own method, or rather your own confusion; so I shall observe the same course for the future. Your discourse is so full of *Mæanders* and windings, turnings and returnings; you congregate heterogeneous matter, and segregate that which is homogeneous; as if you had made your Dedication by starts and snatches, and never digested your whole discourse. On the contrary, where I meet with any thing, it shall be my desire to dispatch it out of my hands, with whatsoever pertains unto it, once for all. I hope you expect not that I should amuse myself at your rhetorical flowers and elegant expressions: they agree well enough with the work you were about; "the pipe plays sweetly, whilst the fowler is catching his prey[y]." Trappings are not

[s] [Cardinal Richelieu (who died in 1642); to whose intrigues, both with the Scotch, amongst whom he had an accredited agent, and with the English Parliamentarians, considerable weight has been attributed in bringing about the Rebellion: see the 'Négociations du Comte d'Estrades,' tom. i. letters 1 and 2.—Whitelocke's Memorials &c. of Charles I. and II., pp. 22. 31.—Clarend. Hist. of the Rebell. bk. ii. vol. i. p. 182; bk. vi. vol. ii. p. 123.—D'Israeli's Comment. on the Life and Reign of Charles I. vol. iv. cc. 3, 4.]

[t] [Life of Wolsey in Wordsworth's Eccles. Biogr. vol. i. p. 636. 3rd edit. Shakesp. Henry VIII. act iii. sc. 2.]

[u] [See note a, p. 7.]

[x] ["Nam tua res agitur, paries cum proximus ardet." Horat. Epist. I. xviii. 84.]

[y] ["Noli homines blando nimium sermone probare:"
"Fistula dulce canit, volucrem dum decipit auceps."
Dionys. Caton. Distich. lib. i. distich 27.]

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to be condemned, if the things themselves are good and useful; but I prefer one pomegranate tree laden with good fruit, before a whole row of cypresses[z], that serve only for show. Be sure of this, that, where any thing in your Epistle reflects upon the Church of England, I shall not miss it first or last, though it be but a loose unjointed piece, and so perhaps hitherto untouched.

We are only *accused* of schism.

Amongst other things which you lay to our charge, you glance, at the least twelve times, at our supposed schism; but from first to last, never attempt to prove it, as if you took it for granted. I have shaped a coat for a schismatic, and had presented it to you in this Answer; but, considering that the matter is of moment, and merits as much to be seriously and solidly weighed as your naked crimination without all pretext of proof deserves to be slighted, lest it might seem here, as an impertinent digression, to take up too much place in this short discourse, I have added it at the conclusion of this Answer in a short tract by itself[a], that you may peruse it if you please.

Presbyterians and Brownists have been Rome's best friends.

You fall heavily, in this discourse, upon the Presbyterians, Brownists, and Independents. If they intend to return you any answer, they may send it by a messenger of their own. As for my part, I am not their proctor, I have received no fee from them. And if I should undertake to plead their 28
cause upon my own head, by our old English law you might call me to an account for unlawful maintenance[b]. Only give me leave, as a by-stander, to wonder why you are so choleric against them, for certainly they have done you more service in England than ever you could have done for yourselves.

pp. 3, 4.

And I wonder no less why you call our Reformation 'a Calvinistical reformation, brought into England by Bucer, and Peter Martyr;' a 'blind reformation,' yea, 'the entire ruin of the Faith, of the very form of the Church, and of the civil government of the Commonwealth instituted by God;'

[z] ["Κυπαρίττου καρπός,—de verbis dictu magnificis, cæterum inutilibus." Erasm. Adag. Chil. iv. cent. 3. prov. 10.]

[a] [Viz. the Vindication of the Church of England, Discourse ii. Part i. which, it seems, was at first intended to have been merely an appendix to the Answer to La Milletière.]

[b] ["Maintenance, *manutentio et manutenentia*, signifies the upholding of a cause or person; metaphorically drawn from succouring a young child, that learns to go by one's hand. In law, it is taken in the worst sense, as appears by 32 Henry VIII. c. 9." Cowel's Interpret. sub voce. Lond. 1701.]

though you confess again in our favour, that 'if our first Reformers had been interrogated, whether they meant any such thing, they would have purged themselves, and avouched their innocence with their hands upon the new Gospel.' 'The gifts of enemies are no gifts[c].' If such as these are all your courtesies, you may be pleased to take them again. Our first Reformers might safely swear upon the Gospel, old or new, that they meant no such thing; and we may as securely swear upon all the Books of God, old or new, that there is no such thing. But why our Gospel should be younger or newer than Sixtus Quintus his Gospel, or Clemens Octavus his Gospel, passeth my understanding, and yours also. Discourse I. p. 4.

Comparisons are odious; therefore I will not say, that the true English Protestant, standing to his own grounds, is the *best* subject in the world: but I do say, that he is as good a subject as any in the world, and our principles as innocent, and as auxiliary to civil government, as the maxims of any Church under heaven; and more than yours, where the clashing of two supreme authorities, and the exemption of your numerous clergy from the coercive power of the prince, and some other novelties, which I forbear to mention, do alway threaten a storm. Tell me, Sir, if you can, what Church in Europe hath declared more fully or more favourably for monarchy than the poor Church of England:—that "the most high and sacred order of Kings is of Divine right, being the Ordinance of God Himself, founded in the prime laws of nature, and clearly established by express texts both of the Old and New Testament;" morcover, that 'this power is extended over all their subjects, ecclesiastical and civil;' that "to set up any independent coactive power above them, either Papal or popular, either directly or indirectly, is to undermine their great Royal Office, and cunningly to overthrow that most sacred Ordinance, which God Himself hath established;" that "for their subjects to bear arms against them, offensive or defensive, upon any pretence whatsoever, is to resist the powers which are ordained of God[d]." [The English Reformation not the ruin of the civil government.]

[c] ["Ἐχθρων δῶρα δῶρα." Soph. Aj. 665.]

[d] L. Cant. [Liber Canonum?] 1640. c. 1. [Constitutions and Canons Eccles. made A. D. 1640 at London and York, can. 1. "Concerning the regal power" —in Wilkins' Concil. Magn. Britann. et Hibern. vol. iv. p. 545.]

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The English Reformation not Calvinistical.

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And why do you call our Reformation Calvinistical? contrary to your own conscience; contrary to your own confession, that 'in our Reformation we retained the ancient Order of Episcopacy, as instituted by Divine authority, and a Liturgy, and ceremonies, whereby we preserved the face, or image, of the Catholic Church;' and that 'for this very cause the Disciplinarians of Geneva, and the Presbyterians, did conceive an implacable hatred against the King for the Church's sake, and out of their aversion to it.' Did they hate their own Reformation so implacably? If these things be to be reconciled, "*reddat mihi minam Diogenes*[e]." He, that looks more in disputation to the advantage of his party than to the truth of his grounds, had need of a strong memory. We retained not only Episcopacy, Liturgy, and ceremonies, but all things else that were conformable to the discipline and public service of the Primitive Church rightly understood.

No, Sir, we cannot pin our Faith upon the sleeve of any particular man: as one[f] used to say, 'We love no nisms, neither Calvinism, nor Lutheranism, nor Jansenianism, but only one, that we derive from Antioch, that is, Christianism.' We honour learning and piety in our fellow-servants, but we desire to wear no other badge or cognizance than that we received from our own Master at our Baptism. Bucer was as fit to be Calvin's master, as his scholar. So long as Calvin continued with him in Germany, he was for Episcopacy, Liturgy, and ceremonies[g] (and for assurance thereof subscribed the Augustan Confession[h]); and his late learned successor

[Acts xi. 26.]

[e] ["Cum aliquid hujusmodi inciderat, sic ludere Carneades solebat; 'Si rectè conclusi, teneo: sin vitiose, *minam Diogenes reddat*.' Ab eo enim Stoico dialecticam didicerat: hæc autem merces erat dialecticorum." Cic. Lucull. xxx.]

[f] M. Tho. Sq. [The Editor is unable to conjecture for whom these initials were intended.]

[g] [Calvin's residence with Bucer at Strasburg, during his temporary exile from Geneva, lasted from A. D. 1538 to A. D. 1541 (Beza's Life of Calvin prefixed to his Works, Amst. 1667). He spoke decidedly in favour of Liturgies and set forms of prayer at a still later period,—see his letter to the Protector Somerset, Oct. 22, 1549. (Op. tom. ix. pp. 39, sq.), written at the request of Bucer (Calvin to Bucer, ibid. p. 49), then in England: and his repeated testimony in favour of Episcopacy has been collected by Bp. Hall in his "Episcopacy by Divine Right," Introd. sect. 2. vol. x. pp. 147, 148. Oxf. 1837, and by Bramhall himself, "Replication," c. 1. (Works, p. 161. fol. edit.), Discourse iii. Part i.—Vindication of Episcop. Clergy, c. 4. (as above, pp. 620, 621.), Discourse iii. Part ii.]

[h] [The Confession of Augsburg drawn up by Melancthon A. D. 1530; which acknowledges Episcopacy *as such*, protesting only against abuses: see c. vii. De Potest. Eccles. in fin. Calvin mentions his former signature and continued approval of it in a letter to Martin Schaling, A. D. 1557, Op. tom. ix. p. 113.]

and assertor in Geneva, Monsieur Deodate, with sundry Discourse I.
29 others of that communion, were not averse from them[i]. Or why do you call Reformation blind? It was not blindness, but too much affectation of knowledge, and too much peeping into controverted and new-fangled questions, that hath endamaged our religion. It is you that teach the Collier's Creed[k], not we.

Howsoever you *pretend* to prove, that our Reformation was the ruin of the Church and Commonwealth; we expect you should *endeavour* to prove it. You cannot so far mistake yourself, as to conceive your authority to be the same with us that Pythagoras had among his scholars, to have his dictates received for oracles without proof. What did I say,—that you pretend to prove it? That's too low an expression; you promise us "a demonstration of it, so lively and evident, [p. 4.] that no reason shall be able to contradict it." Are you not afraid, that too much expectation should prejudice your discourse by diminishing our applause?

"Quid tanto dignum feret hic promissor hiatu[l]?"

Do you think of nothing now but triumphs? 'Lively and evident demonstration, not to be contradicted by reason,' is like the phœnix, much talked of, but seldom seen. Most men, when they see a man strip up his sleeves and make too large promises of fair dealing, do suspect juggling. 'No man proclaimeth in the market that he hath rotten wares to sell.' And therefore we must be careful, notwithstanding your great promises, to keep well Epicharmus his jewel, 'Remember to distrust[m].' By your permission, your glistering 'demonstra-

[i] [Deodate is said (in a note to a contemporary translation of his Answer to the Westminster Assembly, p. 6. Newcastle 1647.) to have been one of those ministers at the Synod of Dort in 1619, who expressed to Bp. Carleton (Collier's Ch. Hist. pt. ii. bk. viii. vol. ii. p. 718, fol. edit.) their approbation of Episcopacy, and regret at their own want of it. For the 'sundry others,' who held the same sentiments, see Bramhall's Serpent Salve (Works, pp. 599, &c. fol. edit.), Discourse ii. Part ii.]

[k] [The Collier's Creed "is thus described by their own" (Roman Catholic) "Bishop. 'The collier being demanded what he believed, answered, That which the Church believeth; and being asked, What the Church believed, answered, That which I believe.'" Morton's Catholic Appeal, bk. v. c. 28. § 2, from Espencæus in 2 Tim. cap. iii. num. 17. p. 119, who, however, it must be added, does not consider the Creed so expressed to be sufficient.]

[l] [Horat. A. P. 138.]

[m] ["Νῆφε καὶ μέμνασο ἀπιστεῖν ἄρθρα ταῦτα τῶν φρενῶν." ap. Cic. ad Attic. i. 19.]

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tion' is a very counterfeit, not so valuable as a Bristol diamond, when it comes to be examined by the wheel.

Reformation is sometimes necessary.

Sometimes nothing is more necessary than reformation. Never was house so well builded, that now and then needed not reparation; never garden so well planted, but must sometimes be weeded; never any order so well instituted, but in long tract of time there will be a bending and declining from its primitive perfection, and a necessity of redueing it to its first principles. Are your Houses of Religion which are reformed, therefore the less religious? Why then did all the princes and commonwealths in Europe, yea, the Fathers themselves in the Council of Trent[n], cry out so often, so earnestly, for a reformation? yet were forced to content themselves with a vain shadow for the substance, as Ixion embraced a cloud for Juno, or children are often stilled with an empty bottle.

Reformation not agreeable to all persons, especially the Court of Rome. [John xii. 6.]

But reformation is not agreeable to all persons. Judas loved not an audit, because he 'kept the bag;' dull lethargic people had rather sleep to death, than be awaked; and mad phrenetic bigots are apt to beat the chirurgeon that would bind up their wounds; but none are so averse from reformation as the Court of Rome, where the very name is more formidable than Hannibal at the gates; yea, than all the five terrible things. No marvel they are afraid to have their oranges squeezed to their hands; if they were infallible as they pretend, there was no need of a reformation; we wish they were, but we see they are not.

There is danger in reformation.

On the other side, it cannot be denied that reformation, when it is unseasonable, or inordinate, or excessive, may do more hurt than good: when reformers want just authority, or due information, or have sinister ends; or where the remedy may be of worse consequence than the abuse; or where men run out of one extreme into another. Therefore it is a rule in prudence, 'Not to remove an ill custom, when it is well settled,' unless it bring great prejudices; and then 'it is better to give one account why we have taken it away,

[n] [See for instance the Orat. Exhortatoria Præsidum Conc. Trident. at the commencement of the eleventh session, and the speech delivered at the Council expressly upon the Reformation of the Church by Antonius Paganus (in the Append. to the Hist. of the Council in Labb. Concil. tom. xiv. pp. 1942, sq.).]

than to be always making excuses why we do it not[o].' Needless alteration doth diminish the venerable esteem of religion, and lessen the credit of ancient truths. 'Break ice in one place, and it will crack in more.' 'Crooked sticks, by bending straight, are sometimes broken into two.'

The right rule of reformation.

There is a right mean between these extremes, if men could light on it; that is, neither to destroy the body out of hatred to the sores and ulcers, nor yet to cherish the sores and ulcers out of a doating affection to the body; that is, neither to destroy ancient institutions out of a zealous hatred to some new abuses, nor yet to doat so upon ancient institutions, as for their sakes to cherish new abuses.

Our Reformation not the ruin of Faith, Church, or Commonwealth.

Our Reformation is just as much the cause of the ruin of our Church and Commonwealth, as the building of Tenderden steeple was the cause of Goodwin's sands, or the ruin of the country thereabouts, because they happened both much about the same time[p]. "*Careat successibus opto,*"—'may he ever want success who judgeth of actions by the event[q].' Our Reformation hath ruined the Faith, just as the plucking up of weeds in a garden ruins the good herbs. It hath ruined the Church, just as a body full of superfluous and vicious humours is ruined by a healthful purgation. It hath ruined the Commonwealth, just as pruning of the vine ruins the elm. No, no, Sir, our sufferings for the Faith, for the Church, for the Monarchy, do proclaim us innocent to all the world, of the ruin either of Faith, or Church, or Monarchy. And in this capacity we choose rather to starve as innocents, than to swim in plenty as nocents.

But this is but one of your doubles to keep us from the right form. It is your new Roman Creed that hath ruined the Faith. It is your Papal Court that hath ruined the Church. It is your new doctrines of the Pope's omnipotence over temporal persons in order unto spiritual ends, of absolving subjects from their oaths of allegiance, of exempting the clergy from secular jurisdiction, of the lawfulness of murdering tyrants and excommunicated princes, of equivocation and

[o] ["Malo semel excusare quare fecerim quam semper quare non fecerim." Seneca.]

[p] [See Latimer's Last Sermon before King Edward, An. 1550.]

[q] ["... Careat successibus opto,
"Quisquis ab eventu facta notanda putat."
Ovid. Heroid. Ep. ii. 85, 86.]

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the like, that first infected the world to the danger of civil government. Yet far be it from me to make these the universal tenets of your Church, at any time, much less at this time, when they are much fallen from their former credit; neither can I deny, that sundry dangerous positions, destructive to all civil societies, have been transplanted by our sectaries, and taken too deep root in our quarters, but never by our fault. If God should grant us the benefit of an Œcumenical or Occidental Council, it would become both you and us in the first place to pluck up such seditious opinions, root and branch.

Our first supposed 'maxim.' [p. 4.]

You say our "Calvinistical Reformation" (so you are pleased to call it as you would have it, for the moderate and orderly Reformation of England was the terror and eye-sore of Rome) 'is founded upon two maxims;' the one, that 'the Church was fallen to ruin and desolation, and become guilty of idolatry and tyranny.'

The Catholic Church cannot come to ruin, or be guilty of idolatry or tyranny. [Matt. xvi. 18.] [Matt. vii. 25.]

This is neither our foundation, nor our superstruction; neither our maxim, nor our opinion. It is so far from it, that we hold and teach the direct contrary. First, that the 'Gates of Hell shall never prevail against the Universal Church;' that 'though the rain descend, and the floods come, and the winds blow and beat upon it, yet it shall never fall to ruin or desolation, because it is builded upon a Rock.' Secondly, we believe that the Catholic Church is the faithful Spouse of Christ, and cannot be guilty of idolatry, which is spiritual adultery. Thirdly, we never said, we never thought, that the Œcumenical Church of Christ was guilty of tyranny. It is principled 'to suffer wrong, to do none, and by suffering to conquer, as a flock of unarmed sheep in the midst of a company of ravenous wolves;'—'a new and unheard-of kind of warfare,'—"as if one should throw a handful of dry flax into the midst of a flaming fire to extinguish it[r]."

Catholic and Roman not convertibles.

But I presume this is one of the idiotisms of your language, in which by the Church you always understand the Roman Church, making Roman and Catholic to be convertibles: as if Christ could not have a Church, nor that Church any privileges, unless the Court of Rome might have the monopoly

[r] Chrys. [Interpret. in Esai. c. ii. tom. i. p. 1030, and Hom. in Matth. xxxiii (alit. xxxiv). tom. ii. p. 226. —quoted from memory.]

of them. There is a vast difference between the Catholic Church and a Patriarchal Church. The Catholic Church can never fail; any Patriarchal Church may apostate and fail. We have a promise that the candle shall not be put out; we have no promise that 'the candlesticks shall not be removed.' Rev. ii. 5.

But supposing that (which we can never grant) the Catholic Church and Roman Church were convertibles, yet still you do us wrong.

The Roman Church itself not absolutely fallen to ruin.

First, we do not maintain, that the Roman Church itself is fallen to ruin and desolation: we grant to it a true *metaphysical* being, though not a true *moral* being; we hope their errors are rather in superstructures, than in fundamentals; we do not say that the plants of saving truth (which are common to you and us) are plucked up by the roots in
31 the Roman Church; but we say that they are overgrown with weeds, and in danger to be choked.

Whether the Roman Church be guilty of idolatry.

Next for idolatry,—whether, and why, and how far we may accuse your Church of it, deserves farther consideration.

First, you agree with us, that God alone is the Object of religion, and consequently, that all religious worship is due terminatively only to Him; that God alone is to be invocated absolutely or ultimately, that is, so as to grant our requests and fulfil our desires by Himself, and that the Saints are not the objects of our prayers, but joint-petitioners with us and intercessors for us to the Throne of Grace.

Secondly, we profess as well as you, that there is a proportionable degree of honour and respect due to every creature in Heaven and earth according to the dignity of it, and therefore more honour due to a glorified Spirit than to a mortal man. But withal we add, that this honour is not *servitutis* but *charitatis*[s]; not of service as to our lords and masters, but of love and charity as to our friends and fellow-servants; of the same kind and nature with that honour which we give to holy men on earth. And herein we are confident that we shall have your consent.

Thirdly, we agree in this also, that abundant love and duty doth extend an honourable respect from the person of a

[s] ["Honoramus eos" (Angelos) Verâ Rel. c. 55. tom. i. p. 787. A.] "*caritate non servitute.*" August. De

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dear friend, or noble benefactor, to his posterity, to his memory, to his monument, to his image, to his relics, to every thing that he loved, or that pertained to him, even to the earth which he did tread upon, for his sake. Put a *Liefhebber*[1], or *Virtuoso*, among a company of rare pictures, and he will pick out the best pieces for their proper value; but a friend or child will more esteem the picture of a benefactor, or ancestor, for its relation. The respect of the one is terminated in the picture, that of the other is radicated in the exemplar. Yet still an image is but an image, and the kinds of respect must not be confounded. The respect given to an image, must be respect proper for an image; not courtship, not worship, not adoration. More respect is due to the person of the meanest beggar than to all the images of Christ and His Apostles, and a thousand primitive Saints or progenitors. Hitherto there is, either, no difference, nor peril either of idolatry or superstition.

Wherein then did consist this guilt of idolatry contracted by the Roman Church?

I am willing for the present to pass by the private abuses of particular persons, which seem to me no otherwise chargeable upon the whole Church, than for connivance. As the making images to counterfeit tears, and words, and gestures, and compliments, for advantage, to induce silly people to believe that there was something of Divinity in them; and the multitude of fictitious relics, and supposititious Saints, which credulity first introduced, and since covetousness hath nourished.

I take no notice now of those remote suspicions or suppositions of the possibility of want of intention, either in the priest that consecrates the Sacrament, or in him that baptized, or in the Bishop that ordained him, or in any one through the whole line of succession; in all which cases (according to your own principles) you give Divine worship to corporeal Elements, which is at least material idolatry.

I will not stand now to examine the truth of your distinctions of λατρεία and δουλεία: yet you know well enough, that δουλεία is no religious worship; and ὑπερδουλεία is coin

[1] [*Liefhebber*. Amateur. Dutch.]

latcly minted, that will not pass for current in the Catholic Church[u]. Whilst your common people understand not these distinctions of degrees of honour, what holds them from falling downright into idolatry?

Neither do I urge how you have distributed the patronage of particular countries, the cure of several diseases, the protection of all distinct professions of men and all kinds of creatures, among the Saints, just as the Heathen did among their tutelary Gods; nor how little warrant you have for this practice from experience: nor, lastly, how you build more Churches, erect more Altars, offer more presents, pour out more prayers, make more vows, perform more offices to the Mother than to the Son. Yet, though we should hold our peace, methinks you should ponder these things seriously, and either for your own satisfaction, or ours, take away such unnecessary occasions of scandal and disunion.

But I cannot omit, that the Council of Trent is not con-
32 tented to enjoin the adoration of Christ in the Sacrament (which we never deny), but of the Sacrament itself (that is, according to the common current of your school-men, the accidents or *species* of Bread and Wine), because it contains Christ[x]. Why do they not add upon the same grounds, that the pix is to be adored with Divine worship, because it contains the Sacrament? Divine honour is not due to the very Humanity of Christ, as it is abstracted from the Deity, but to the Whole Person, Deity and Humanity, hypostatically united. Neither the grace of union, nor the grace of unction can confer more upon the Humanity than the Humanity is capable of. There is no such union between the Deity and the Sacrament, neither immediately, nor yet mediately *mediante Corpore*.

Moreover you do[y] ordinarily ascribe λατρεία or Divine worship to a Crucifix, or to the Image of Christ; indeed not terminatively, but transeuntly, so as not to rest in the Image

[u] ['Λατρεία, servitus quæ debetur Deo; δουλεία, servitus quæ exhibenda est homini' (Dufresne, Glossar. sub voc. δουλ.); the latter being further 'divided into δουλεία properly so called, and ὑπερδουλεία, of which the first is attributed to the other Saints, and the second to the Humanity of Christ apart from His Divinity and to the blessed Virgin.' (Bellarm. De Sanct. Beatit. lib. i. c. 12. tom. i. p. 1951.)]

[x] [Concil. Trident. Sess. xiii. cap. 5. et can. 6.]

[y] [See Bramhall's Vindication, &c. c. 10. beginn., Discourse ii. Part i.]

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or Crucifix, but to pass to the Exemplar, or Person crucified [z]. But why a piece of wood should be made partaker of Divine honours even *in transitu*, or in the passage, passeth my understanding. The Heathens wanted not the same pretext for all their gross idolatry. Let them plead for themselves:—'*Non ego, &c.*'—'I do not worship that stone which I see, but I serve him whom I do not see.' [a]

Lastly, whilst you are pleased to use them, I may not forget those strange insolent forms of prayer contained in your Books, even ultimate prayers, if we take the words as they sound, directed to the Creatures, that they would protect you at the hour of death, and deliver you from the devil, and confer spiritual graces upon you, and admit you into Heaven—"*precibus meritisque*"—"by their prayers and merits" [b] (you know what merit signifies in your

[z] ["*Debetur* ei" (*Cruci*) "*latria.*" Ordo ad recipiend. procession. Imperator. in the Pontifical of Clement VIII. (Romæ 1595.) Pt. iii. p. 672; and in that of Urban VIII. (Paris. 1664.) Pt. iii. p. 109. 'Sacerdos,.. et deinde alii clerici et laici' ... "*Crucem adorant.*" Rubric in Missal, for Good Friday.—"*Honos*, qui eis" (*imaginibus* &c.) "exhibetur, *refertur ad prototypa.*" Concil. Trident. Sess. xxv. Decret. de Invocatione &c.: see also Vazquez De Adorat. lib. ii. disp. 8. c. 3. Among the Roman *doctors*, however, it is a disputed question whether and how far adoration is *terminatively* due either to images or to the Cross; some, with Aquinas (Summ. Theol. pars iii. Qu. xxv. Artt. 3, 4.), maintaining the affirmative,—others, as Cassander (Consult. 21. § de Cultu Imag.), the negative,—and a third party, as Bellarmine (lib. ii. de Imag. Sanctor. cc. 21, sq. Op. tom. i. pp. 2075, sq.), holding a middle opinion, viz. that it is so due but only 'secundum quid and analogically.' See Jackson's Works vol. i. book v. On the Original of Unbelief &c. c. 34.]

[a] ["Sed existit nescio quis disputator, . . . et ait, Non ego illum lapidem colo nec illud simulachrum, quod est sine sensu; . . . . . non ego illud colo, sed adoro quod video et servio Ei Quem non video." August. in Ps. xcvi. v. 11. tom. iv. p. 1047. D.]

[b] [In the Offic. parvum B. Mariæ in the (reformed) Roman Breviary;

"Maria mater gratiæ,
"Dulcis parens clementiæ,
"Tu nos ab hoste protege,
"Et mortis hora suscipe."—

In the Commune Unius Martyris in the same;

"Invicte Martyr, ...
* * *
"Tui precatus munere
"Nostrum reatum dilue,
"Arcens mali contagium."—

In the Commune Apostolorum in the same;

"Vos, sæculorum judices,
* * *
"Sanate mentes languidas,
"Augete nos virtutibus."—

In the Offic. B. Mariæ in the same; "Sub tuum præsidium confugimus, sancta Dei genitrix; nostras deprecationes ne despicias in necessitatibus, sed a periculis cunctis libera nos semper, Virgo gloriosa et benedicta."

And again;

"Virgo singularis,
* * *
"Mites fac et castos;
"Vitam præsta puram."—

In the services for the particular Feasts in the same,—In Cathedra S. Petri Antioch.;

"Beate Pastor Petre, clemens accipe
"Voces precantum, criminumque vinculæ
"Verbo resolve, cui potestas tradita
"Aperire terris cœlum, apertum claudere."

In the Offic. parvum B. Mariæ in the Paris Breviary;

"O Mater alma Christi carissima,
"Suscipe pia laudum præconia.

language,—a condignity, or at least a congruity, of desert). The exposition of your doctors is, that they should do all this for you by their prayers; as improper a form of speech, as if a suppliant, intending only to move an ordinary courtier to mediate for him unto the King, should fall down upon his knees before the courtier, and beseech him to make him an Earl, or a Knight, or to bestow such an office or such a pardon upon him, or to do some other grace for him properly belonging to the prerogative royal. How agrees this with the words, *precibus meritisque?* A beggar doth not deserve an alms by asking it. This is a snare to ignorant persons, who take the words to signify as they sound; and (it is to be feared) do commit downright idolatry by their pastors' faults, who prescribe such improper forms unto them.

The Roman *Court* most tyrannical.

Concerning tyranny, which makes up the arrear of the first supposed 'maxim;'—we do not accuse the Roman *Church* of tyranny, but the Roman *Court*. If either the unjust usurpation of Sovereign power, or the extending thereof to the destruction of the laws and canons of the Church, yea, even to give a *"Non obstante"* either to the institution of Christ, or at least to the uniform practice of the primitive ages, or to them both [c]; if the swallowing up of all ecclesiastical jurisdiction, and the arrogating of a supercivil power paramount; if the causing of poor people to trot to Rome from all the quarters of Europe, to waste their livelihoods there; if the trampling upon emperors and the disciplining of monarchs be tyrannical; either the Court of Rome hath been tyrannical, or there never was tyranny in the world [d].

I doubt not but some great persons, when they have had bloody tragedies to act for their own particular ends, have

"Nostra ut pura pectora sint et corpora,
"Te nunc flagitant devota corda et ora.
"Tua per precata dulcisona
"Nobis concedas veniam per sæcula."—
In the Commune Apostolorum in the same;
"Vos, . . .
"Qui dante Christo panditis,
"Qui clauditis cœli fores,
"Nos criminum tenacibus
"Vinclis ligatos solvite."—
The words *"precibus meritisque"* (the common phrase also of the schoolmen) are a frequent, although far from the strongest, form of the *indirect* prayers in the Roman Service Books. Of the *direct* prayers quoted above, the greater number, it will be seen, are not even so far qualified.]

[c] [In the decree of the Council of Constance which restricts Communion in both kinds to the officiating ministers (ap. Labb. Concil. tom. xii. p. 100.), giving the Bread only to the laity, such restriction is enacted with an express "non obstante" both to the institution of Christ and to primitive practice.]

[d] [Bramhall's Vindication, &c. c. 6. (Works, pp. 92, &c. fol. edit.), Discourse ii. Part i.]

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sometimes made the Roman Church a stalkinghorse, and the pretence of Catholic religion a blind, to keep their policies undiscerned: but if we consider seriously, what cruelties have been really acted throughout Europe, either by the Inquisitors General, or by persons specially delegated for that purpose, against the Waldenses of old, and against the Protestants of later days, against poor ignorant persons, against women and children, against madmen, against dead carcasses, as Bucer, &c.,[e] upon pretence of religion, not only by ordinary forms of punishment and of death, but by fire and faggots, by strange new-devised tortures, we shall quickly find that the Court of Rome hath died itself red in Christian blood, and equalled the most tyrannical persecutions of the Heathen Emperors.

Our second supposed 'maxim.'

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The other 'maxim' whereupon you say that our Reformation was grounded, was this, 'That the only way to reform the Faith, and Liturgy, and government of the Church, was 33 to conform them to the dictates of Holy Scripture, of the sense whereof every private Christian ought to be the judge by the light of the Spirit, excluding Tradition and the public

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judgment of the Church.' You add, that 'we cannot prove Episcopacy by Scripture without the help of Tradition; and if we do admit of Tradition, we must acknowledge the Papacy for the government of the Catholic Church, as founded in the primacy of St. Peter.'

Much mistaken.

Your second supposed ground is no truer than the former; we are as far from anarchy as from tyranny. As we would not have human authority, like Medusa's head, to transform reasonable men into senseless stones; so we do not put the reins of government into the hands of each or any private person, to reform according to their phantasies. And that we may not deal like blunderers, or deceitful persons, to wrap up or involve ourselves on purpose in confused generalities, I will set down our sense distinctly. When you understand it, I hope you will repent your rash censuring of us, of whom you had so little knowledge.

Three things[f] offer themselves to be considered: first, con-

[e] [Bucer's dead body was taken up and burned by order of Cardinal Pole at Cambridge A.D. 1557; Fox's Acts and Monum. vol. iii. book xii. pp. 659, &c. Lond. 1684.—Heylin's Eccles. Restaur. Reign of Queen Mary, p. 70.]

[f] [The substance of the statement, which follows, concerning the interpre-

cerning the rule of Scripture; secondly, the proper expounders thereof; and thirdly, the manner of exposition.

I. The Scripture the rule of supernatural truths.

Concerning Scripture we believe,—that it was impossible for human reason without the help of Divine revelation, to find out those supernatural truths which are necessary to salvation: secondly, that, to supply this defect of natural reason, God out of His abundant goodness hath given us the Holy Scriptures, which have not their authority from the writing, which is human, but from the revelation, which is Divine,—from the Holy Ghost: thirdly, that, this being the purpose of the Holy Ghost, it is blasphemy to say He would not, or could not, attain unto it; and that therefore the Holy Scriptures do comprehend all necessary supernatural truths (so much is confessed by Bellarmine, that 'all things which are necessary to be believed and to be done by all Christians, were preached to all by the Apostles, and were all written [g]'): fourthly, that the Scripture is more properly to be called a rule of supernatural truths than a judge; or if it be sometimes called a judge, it is no otherwise than the law is called a judge of civil controversies between man and man, that is, the rule of judging what is right, and what is wrong;—'that which sheweth what is straight, sheweth likewise what is crooked [h].'

II. Who are the proper expounders of Scripture, and how far.

Secondly, concerning the proper expounders of Scripture, we do believe that the Gospel doth not consist in the words, but in the sense—"*non in superficie, sed in medullâ*[i];" and therefore that, though this infallible rule be given for the common benefit of all, yet every one is not an able or fit artist to make application of this rule in all particular cases. To preserve the common right, and yet prevent particular abuses, we distinguish judgment into three kinds:

Judgment of *discretion;* judgment of *direction;* and judgment of *jurisdiction* [k].

As in the former instance of the law (the ignorance whereof excuseth no man):—every subject hath judgment of *dis-*

tation of Scripture, appears to be taken from Field, Of the Church, bk. iv. cc. 13, &c. pp. 362, &c. Lond. 1628.]

[g] Lib. iv. De Verbo Dei, cap. 11. [Op. tom. i. p. 244. B.]

[h] ["Τῷ εὐθεῖ καὶ αὐτὸ καὶ τὸ καμπύλον γινώσκομεν." Aristot. De Animâ, i. c. 5. Op. p. 411. l. 5. ed. Bekker.]

[i] [Hieron. In Epist. ad Galatas, c. 1. tom. iv. P. i. p. 230.]

[k] [Field, as before quoted, p. 363; and c. 16. pp. 366, 367.]

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cretion, to apply it particularly to the preservation of himself, his estate and interest; the advocates, and those who are skilful in the law, have moreover a judgment of *direction*, to advise others of less knowledge and experience; but those who are constituted by the sovereign power to determine emergent difficulties and differences, and to distribute and administer justice to the whole body of a province or kingdom, have moreover a judgment of *jurisdiction*, which is not only discretionary, or directive, but authoritative,—to impose an obligation of obedience unto those who are under their charge. If these last shall transgress the rule of the law, they are not accountable to their inferiors, but to him or them that have the sovereign power of legislative judicature;—*'ejus est legem interpretari, cujus est condere.'*

To apply this to the case in question concerning the exposition of the Holy Scripture. Every Christian keeping himself within the bounds of due obedience and submission to his lawful superiors, hath a judgment of *discretion*;—"Prove all things, hold fast that which is good." He may apply the rule of Holy Scripture for his own private instruction, comfort, edification, and direction, and for the framing of his life and belief accordingly. The pastors of the Church (who are placed over God's people as watchmen and guides) have more than this, a judgment of *direction*; to expound and interpret the Holy Scriptures to others, and out of them to instruct the ignorant, to reclaim them who wander out of the right way, to confute errors, to foretell dangers, and to draw sinners to repentance. The chief pastors, to whose care the regiment of the Church is committed in a more special manner, have yet a higher degree of judgment, a judgment of *jurisdiction*; to prescribe, to enjoin, to constitute, to reform, to censure, to condemn, to bind, to loose, judicially, authoritatively, in their respective charges. If their key shall err, either their key of knowledge, or their key of jurisdiction, they are accountable to their respective superiors, and in the last place to a general Council, which under Christ upon earth is the highest judge of controversies. Thus we have seen what is the rule of Faith, and by whom, and how far respectively, this rule is to be applied.

1 Thess. v. 21.

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III. The manner of

Thirdly, for the manner of expounding Holy Scriptures;

—for there may be a privacy in this also, and more dangerous than the privacy of the person[1].—Many things are necessary to the right interpretation of the law;—to understand the reason of it, the precedents, the terms, the forms, the reports; and an ability to compare law with law. He that wants all these qualifications altogether, is no interpreter of law. He that wants but some of them, or wants the perfection of them, by how much the greater is his defect, by so much the less valuable is his exposition. And if he shall, out of private fancy or blind presumption, arrogate to himself, without these requisite means, or above his capacity and proportion of knowledge, a power of expounding law, he is a madman. So, many things are required to render a man capable to expound the Holy Scriptures, some more necessarily, some less; some absolutely, some respectively: as, first, to know the right analogy of Faith, to which all interpretations of Scripture must be of necessity conformed; secondly, to know the practice and tradition of the Church, and the received expositions of former interpreters in the successive ages, which gives a great light to the finding out of the right sense; thirdly, to be able to compare texts with texts, antecedents with consequents, without which one can hardly attain to the drift and scope of the Holy Ghost in the obscurer passages; and, lastly, it is something to know the idiotisms of that language wherein the Scriptures were written[m]. He that wants all these requisites, and yet takes upon him, out of a fanatic presumption of private illumination, to interpret Scripture, is a doting enthusiast, fitter to be refuted with scorn than with arguments. He that presumes above that degree and proportion which he hath in these means, and above the talent which God hath given him (as he that hath a little language, yet wants logic; or, having both language and logic, knows not, or regards not, either the judgment of former expositors, or the practice and tradition of the purest primitive ages, or the Symbolical Faith of the Catholic Church), is not a likely workman to build a Temple to the Lord, but ruin and destruction to himself and his seduced followers. 'A new

[1] [Field, as before quoted, p. 366; who cites Stapleton's threefold division of 'privacy of interpretation,' viz. "ratione *personæ*, *modi*, or finis."]

[m] [Field, as before quoted, c. 19. pp. 372, 373.]

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physician,' we say, 'requires a new church-yard;' but such bold ignorant empirics in theology are ten times more dangerous to the soul, than an ungrounded unexperienced quack-salver to the body.

This is conformable to the doctrine and practice of our Church.

This hath always been the doctrine and the practice of our English Church. First, it is so far from admitting laymen to be *directive* interpreters of Holy Scripture, that it allows not this liberty to clergymen so much as 'to gloss upon the text,' until they be 'licensed to become preachers[n].' Secondly, for judgment of *discretion* only, it gives it not to private persons above their talents, or 'beyond their last.' It disallows all fantastical and enthusiastical presumption of incompetent and unqualified expositors[o]. It admits no man into Holy Orders, that is, to be capable of being made a *directive* interpreter of Scripture, howsoever otherwise qualified, 'unless he be able to give a good account of his Faith in the Latin tongue[p],' so as to be able to frame all his expositions according to the analogy thereof. It forbids the licensed preachers to 'teach the people any doctrine as necessary to be religiously held and believed, which the Catholic Fathers, and old Bishops of the Primitive Church, have not collected out of the Scriptures[q].' It ascribes a judgment of *jurisdiction* over preachers to Bishops, in all manner of ecclesiastical duties, as appears by the whole body of our Canons; and especially where any difference or public opposition hath been between preachers, about any point or doctrine deduced out of Scripture[r]. It gives a power of determining all emergent controversies of Faith above Bishops to the Church, as to the 'witness and keeper of the Sacred Oracles[s],' and to a 'lawful Synod,' as the 'representative Church[t].'

Now, Sir, be your own judge how infinitely you have wronged us, and yourself more, suggesting that temerariously and without the sphere of your knowledge to his Majesty for the principal ground of our Reformation, which our souls abhor. Is there no mean between stupidity and madness?

[n] Canon. 1603. can. 49.

[o] See the Preface to the Bishops' Bible. [A. D. 1572;—Cranmer's Prologue, near the end.]

[p] [Canon. 1603.] Can. 34; [and Rubric before Ordination Service.]

[q] Can. 1571. tit. 'Concionatores.' [Wilk. Concil. tom. iv. p. 267.]

[r] Canon. 1603. Can. 53.

[s] Art. 20. ["A witness and a keeper of Holy Writ."]

[t] Canon. 1603. Can. 139.

Must either all things be lawful for private persons, or nothing? Because we would not have them like David's 'horse and mule, without understanding,' do we therefore put both swords in their hands, to reform and cut off, to plant and to pluck up, to alter and abolish, at their pleasure? We allow them Christian liberty, but would not have them Libertines. Admit some have abused this just liberty, may we therefore take it away from others? So shall we leave neither a sun in heaven, nor any excellent creature upon earth, for all have been abused by some persons, in some kinds, at some times. Discourse I. [Ps. xxxii. 9.]

We receive not your upstart suppositious traditions, nor unwritten fundamentals: but we admit genuine, universal, Apostolical traditions [u]; as the Apostles' Creed—the perpetual Virginity of the Mother of God—the anniversary Festivals of the Church—the Lenten Fast (yet we know that both the duration of it, and the manner of observing it, was very different in the primitive times). We believe Episcopacy, to an ingenuous person, may be proved out of Scripture without the help of Tradition; but to such as are froward, the perpetual practice and tradition of the Church renders the interpretation of the text more authentic, and the proof more convincing. What is this to us who admit the practice and tradition of the Church, as an excellent help of exposition? Use is the best interpreter of laws; and we are so far from believing, that 'we cannot admit Tradition without allowing the Papacy,' that one of the principal motives why we rejected the Papacy, as it is now established with universality of jurisdiction by the institution of Christ, and superiority above Œcumenical Councils, and infallibility of judgment, was the constant tradition of the Primitive Church. The English Church an enemy to upstart, not to Apostolical, traditions. [p. 5.]

So, Sir, you see your demonstration shaken into pieces. You, who take upon you to remove whole Churches at your pleasure, have not so much ground left you as to set your instrument upon. Your two main ground-works being vanished, all your Presbyterian and Independent superstructions do remain like so many bubbles, or castles in the air. It were folly to lay close siege to them, which the next puff of wind will disperse;—"*ruunt subductis tecta columnis*[x]."

[u] [Field, as before quoted, bk. iv. c. 20. pp. 375, &c.]

[x] [Juven. viii. 77.]

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[What articles of the new Roman Creed we have renounced.]

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Howsoever, though you have mistaken the grounds of our Reformation and of your discourse, yet you charge us, that 'we have renounced the Sacrifice of the Mass, Transubstantiation, the seven Sacraments, Justification by inherent righteousness, Merits, Invocation of Saints, Prayer for the dead with Purgatory, and the authority of the Pope.' Are these all the necessary articles of the new Roman Creed, that we have renounced? Surely no; you deal too favourably with us. We have in like manner renounced your Image-worship, your half Communion, your Prayers in a tongue unknown, &c. It seems you were loth to mention these things.

Of the Sacrifice of the Mass.

First, you say we have renounced your Sacrifice of the Mass. If the Sacrifice of the Mass be the same with the Sacrifice of the Cross, we attribute more unto it than yourselves; we place our whole hope of salvation in it. If you understand another Propitiatory Sacrifice distinct from that (as this of the Mass seems to be; for confessedly the Priest is not the same, the Altar is not the same, the Temple is not the same); if you think of any new meritorious Satisfaction to God for the sins of the world, or of any new supplement to the merits of Christ's Passion; you must give us leave to renounce your Sacrifice indeed, and to adhere to the Apostle;

Heb. x. 14. —"By one Offering He hath perfected for ever them that are sanctified."

Surely you cannot think that Christ did actually sacrifice Himself at His Last Supper (for then He had redeemed the world at His Last Supper; then His subsequent Sacrifice upon the Cross had been superfluous); nor that the priest now doth more than Christ did then. We do readily acknowledge an Eucharistical sacrifice of prayers and praises: we 36
profess a commemoration of the Sacrifice of the Cross; and in the language of Holy Church, things commemorated are related as if they were then acted; as,—"Almighty God, who hast given us Thy Son *as this day* to be born of a pure Virgin[y];—and, "Whose praise the younger Innocents have *this day* set forth[z];"—and between the Ascension and Pentecost, "Which hast exalted Thy Son Jesus Christ with great

[y] Collect [for Christmas Day]. before Review of 1661].
[z] Collect [for Innocents' Day,—form

triumph into Heaven, we beseech Thee *leave* us not comfortless, but send unto us Thy Holy Spirit[a]:" we acknowledge a representation of that Sacrifice to God the Father: we acknowledge an impetration of the benefit of it: we maintain an application of its virtue: so here is a commemorative, impetrative, applicative Sacrifice. Speak distinctly, and I cannot understand what you can desire more. To make it a suppletory Sacrifice, to supply the defects of the only true Sacrifice of the Cross, I hope both you and I abhor. Discourse I.

The next crime objected by you to us is, that we have renounced Transubstantiation. It is true, we have rejected it deservedly from being an article of our Creed; you need not wonder at that. But if we had rejected it four hundred years sooner, that had been a miracle. It was not so soon hatched. To find but the word 'Transubstantiation' in any old author, were sufficient to prove him a counterfeit. Of Transubstantiation.

Your next article of the septenary number of the Sacraments is not much older: never so much as mentioned in any Scripture, or Council, or Creed, or Father, or ancient author; first devised by Peter Lombard[b]; first decreed by Eugenius the Fourth[c]; first confirmed in the provincial Council of Sens[d]; and after in the Council of Trent[e]. Either the word 'Sacrament' is taken largely; and then the washing of the Disciples' feet is called a Sacrament; then the only sprinkling of ashes on a Christian's head is called a Sacrament; then there are God knows how many Sacraments more than seven: or else it is taken strictly for a visible sign, instituted by Christ, to convey or confirm grace to all such partakers thereof, as do not set a bar against themselves, according to the analogy between the sign and the thing signified; and in this sense the proper and certain Sacraments of the Christian Church, common to all, or (in the words of our Church) "generally necessary to salvation[f]," are but two, Baptism and the Supper of our Lord. More than these St. Ambrose writes not of in his book *De Sacramentis*[g], because he did not know them. Of Seven Sacraments.

[a] Collect [for the Sunday after Ascension Day].

[b] [Sentent. lib. iv. Dist. ii. § 1.]

[c] A.D. 1439. [Decret. Eugen. Papæ iv. ad Armenos (at the Council of Florence); ap. Labb. Concil. tom. xiii. p. 534.]

[d] A.D. 1528. [Can. x. ap. Labb. Concil. tom. xiv. p. 454.]

[e] A.D. 1547. [Concil. Trident. Sess. vii. can. 1.]

[f] [Catechism.]

[g] [Op. tom. ii. pp. 341, sq.]

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These we admit for genuine and general Sacraments. Their sacramental virtue we acknowledge.

The rest we retain more purely than yourselves, though not under the notion of such proper and general Sacraments. As Confirmation, Ordination, Matrimony, Penitence (though we neither approve of your preposterous manner of Absolution before satisfaction, nor of your ordinary Penitentiary tax[h]); and, lastly, the Visitation of, and Prayer for, the Sick; which only is of perpetual necessity, the unction prescribed

Jam. v. 14. by St. James being appropriable to the miraculous gift of healing or recovering men out of sickness then in use, whereas your custom is clean contrary, never or rarely to enoil[i] any man, until he be past all hope of recovery. The ordinary and most received custom of preparing sick persons for another world in the Primitive Church, was Prayer, and Absolution or the benefit of the Keys, and the *Viaticum* of the Body and Blood of Christ, which we retain.

Of Justification.

Concerning Justification, we believe that all good Christians have true inherent justice, though not perfect, according to a perfection of degrees, as gold is true gold, though it be mixed with some dross. We believe that this inherent justice and sanctity doth make them truly just and holy. But if the word 'Justification' be taken *in sensu forensi*, for the acquittal of a man from former guilt, to make an offender just in the

Rom. viii. 33, 34. eye of the law, as it is opposed to 'condemnation,'—"It is God that justifieth, who is he that condemneth?"—then it is not our inherent righteousness that justifieth us in this sense, but the free grace of God for the Merits of Jesus Christ.

Of Merits.

Next for Merits, we never doubted of the necessity of good works, without which faith is but a fiction. We are not so stupid to imagine that Christ did wash us from our sins, that

[Luke i. 74, 75.] we might wallow more securely in sin, but that 'we might serve him in holiness and righteousness all the days of our 37 life.' We never doubted of the reward of good works;—

[Matt. xxv. 34—40.] 'Come ye blessed of My Father,' &c. 'for I was hungry, and ye fed Me:' nor whether this reward be due to them in

1 Tim. iv. 8. justice;—"Henceforth is laid up for me a crown of righteous-

[h] [For a full account of the *Taxa Pœnitentiaria*, or published scale of prices for Papal dispensations and indulgences &c., see Marchand's Dictionn. Historique, sub voc. *Taxa.*]

[i] [More commonly spelt 'annoil' or 'anele.']

ness, which the Lord the just Judge shall give me in that day:" faithful promise makes due debt. This was all that the Ancient Church did ever understand by the name of Merits. Let Petavius[j] bear witness;—"*Antiqui Patres omnes, et præ cæteris Augustinus, cumque iis consentiens Romana et Catholica pietas, agnoscit merita eo sensu, nimirum ut neque Dei gratiam ulla antecedant merita, et hæc ipsa tum ex gratiâ tum ex gratuitâ Dei pollicitatione tota pendeant:*"—"All the ancient Fathers, especially St. Austin, and the Roman and Catholic Faith consenting with them, do acknowledge Merits in this sense, that no Merits go before the grace of God, and that these very Merits do depend wholly on grace and on the free promise of God." Hold you to this, and we shall have no more difference about Merits. Do you exact more of us, than all the Fathers, or the Roman and Catholic piety, doth acknowledge? DISCOURSE I.

It is an easy thing for a wrangling sophister to dispute of Merits in the schools, or for a vain orator to declaim of Merits out of the pulpit; but when we come to lie upon our death-beds, and present ourselves at the last hour before the tribunal of Christ, it is high time both for you and us to renounce our own merits, and to cast ourselves naked into the arms of our Saviour. That any works of ours (who are the best of us but "unprofitable servants;" which properly are not ours, but God's own gifts; and if they were ours, are a just debt due unto him, setting aside God's free promise and gracious acceptation) should condignly by their own intrinsecal value deserve the joys of Heaven, to which they have no more proportion than they have to satisfy for the eternal torments of Hell;—this is that which we have renounced, and which we never ought to admit. [Luke xvii. 10.]

If your Invocation of Saints were not such as it is, to request of them patronage and protection, spiritual graces, and celestial joys, by their prayers, and by their merits (alas! the wisest Virgins have oil in their lamps little enough for themselves); yet it is not necessary for two reasons: first; no Saint doth love us so well as Christ; no Saint hath given us such assurance of his love, or done so much for us as Christ; no Saint is so willing or able to help us as Christ: and, secondly, we have no command from God to invocate Of Invocation of Saints. [Matt. xxv. 9.]

[j] Dissert. Eccles. lib. ii. c. 4. [pp. 230, 231. Paris 1641.]

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them (so much your own authors do confess, and give this reason for it, "lest the Gentiles, being converted, should believe that they were drawn back again to the worship of the creature [k]"); but we have another command, "Call upon Me in the day of trouble, and I will hear thee." We have no promise to be heard, when we do invocate them; but we have another promise,—"Whatsoever ye shall ask the Father in My name, ye shall receive it." We have no example in Holy Scripture of any that did invocate them, but rather the contrary;—'See thou do it not;' 'I am thy fellow-servant, worship God.' We have no certainty that they do hear our particular prayers, especially mental prayers, yea, a thousand prayers poured out at one instant in several parts of the world. We know what your men say of the "glass of the Trinity," and of extraordinary revelations[l]; but these are bold conjectures without any certainty, and inconsistent the one with the other.

[Ps. l. 15.]

[John xiv. 13.]

Rev. xxii. 9.

We do sometimes meet in ancient authors with the intercession of Saints in general, which we also acknowledge; or an oblique invocation of them (as you term it), that is, a prayer directed to God, that he will hear the intercession of the Saints for us, which we do not condemn; or a wish, or a rhetorical apostrophe, or perhaps something more in some single ancient author: but for an ordinary invocation in particular necessities, and much more for public invocation in the Liturgies of the Church, we meet not with it for the first six hundred years, or thereabouts [m]; all which time, and afterwards also, the common principles and tradition of the

[k] S. Clara [Deus, Natura, Gratia &c.], Problem. 37. [p. 323. Lugd. 1635]; ex Horantio [Loci Catholici, lib. iii. c. 21. fol. 260. Paris 1566].

[l] [S. Clara as above cited, pp. 308—310, states three ways by which different Roman Catholic doctors endeavoured to escape this objection; viz. by affirming that the souls of departed Saints enjoyed a knowledge even of the thoughts of men upon earth, either (as Biel) intuitive and as it were natural, —or (as Aquinas and his followers from Gregory the Great, Moral. lib. xii. c. 21. tom. i. p. 403. A. ed. Bened.) beatific, "quia quæ" (animæ) "*intus* omnipotentis *Dei claritatem vident, nullo* modo credendum est, quia *foris sit aliquid quod ignorent*," which later schoolmen spoke of as a vision 'in speculo Trinitatis,'—or (as Scotus and others) by special revelation upon each occasion: to which three Bellarmine (lib. i. De Beatitud. Sanctor. c. 20. Op. tom. i. p. 1939.) adds a fourth—by the information of Angels.]

[m] [Viz. not until the time of Gregory the Great A. D. 590—604, the single instance excepted of the Eutychian Bishop of Antioch Peter the Fuller (Niceph. Hist. Eccles. xv. 28.) in the middle of the fifth century, which certainly was not an act of the Church nor of any branch of it. The summary statement here given by Bramhall, may be found for the most part with authorities in Field, bk. iii. c. 20. pp. 109, &c.]

Church were against it. So far were they from obtruding it as a necessary fundamental article of Christian Religion.

Of Prayer for the dead with Purgatory.

It is a common fault of your writers always to couple Prayer for the dead and Purgatory together, as if the one did necessarily suppose or imply the other;—in whose steps you tread. Prayer for the dead hath often proceeded upon mistaken
38 grounds, often from true grounds, both inconsistent with your Purgatory. Many have held an opinion, that, though the souls were not extinguished at the time of their separation from the body, yet they did lie in 'secret receptacles[n]' in a profound or dead sleep until the Resurrection, doing nothing, suffering nothing in the mean time, but only the delay of their glory. Others held, that all must pass through the fire of conflagration at the Day of Judgment[o]. These opinions were inconsistent with your Purgatory, yet all these upon these very grounds used Prayer for the dead. Others, called the merciful doctors, held, that the very pains of Hell might be lessened by the prayer of the living[p]. Such a prayer is that which we meet with in your own Missal[q];—"O King of Glory, deliver the souls of all the faithful deceased, from the pains of Hell, from the deep Lake, from the mouth of the Lion" (that is, the Devil), "that the bottomless pit of Hell do not swallow them up." A man may lawfully pray for that which is certain, if it be to come; but one cannot lawfully pray for that which is past. The souls which are in Purgatory, (by your learning) are past the fear of Hell. Nor can this petition be any ways so wrested, as to become appliable to the hour of death. This prayer is not for the man,

[Ne absorbeat eas] *Tartarus.*

[n] ["Abditis receptaculis." August. De Octo Dulcit. Quæst. iii. § 4. Op. tom. vi. p. 95. D.—Enchirid. c. xix. ibid. p. 174. C.]

[o] [Compare Field, bk. iii. c. 9. p. 87. c. 17. pp. 101, &c., from whom Bramhall's statement appears to be in substance taken, and Jer. Taylor, Dissuasive from Popery, Pt. i. § 4. vol. x. p. 149.—and see the lists of Fathers, holding the opinions mentioned in the text, cited at length by Sixtus Senensis; viz. for the former (Biblioth. Sanct. lib. vi. Annot. 345.—quoted by Field and Taylor), the Liturgy of S. James, Irenæus, Justin Martyr, Tertullian, Clement of Rome, Prudentius, Origen, Lactantius, Chrysostom, Augustin, Theodoret, and others; for the latter (ibid. lib. v. Annott. 170, 171.), first Origen, and from him Lactantius, Ambrose, Hilary, Basil, and Jerome.]

[p] [Compare Field as quoted in the last note: and for a list of those who have held this third opinion, see Sixtus Senensis, as above quoted, lib. vi. Annot. 47., who cites S. Chrysostom (Hom. 3. in Epist. ad Philipp. tom. iv. p. 20), Joann. Damascenus, Prudentius, and several schoolmen, including Aquinas who discusses the question at length In iv. Sentent. Dist. xlv. Qu. 2.]

[q] [In the Missæ pro Defunctis;—quoted by Field as above.]

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but for the soul separated; not for the soul of a sick man, or a dying man, but for the souls of men actually deceased. Certainly this prayer must have reference either to the sleeping of the souls, or to the pains of Hell; to deliverance out of Purgatory it can have no relation. Neither are you able to produce any one prayer public or private, neither any one indulgence to that purpose, for the delivery of any one soul out of Purgatory, in all the Primitive times, or out of your own ancient Missals or Records. Such are the innovations which you would impose upon us as articles of Faith, which the greatest part of the Catholic Church never received until this day. Moreover, though the sins of the faithful be privately and particularly remitted at the day of death, yet the public promulgation of their pardon at the Day of Judgment is to come. Though their souls be always in an estate of blessedness, yet they want the consummation of this blessedness, extensively at least, until the body be re-united unto the soul; and (as it is piously and probably believed) intensively also,—that the soul hath not yet so full and clear a vision of God, as it shall have hereafter. Then what forbids Christians to pray for this public acquittal, for this consummation of blessedness?—So we do pray, as often as we say "Thy Kingdom come," or "Come Lord Jesus, come quickly." [Rev. xxii. 20.] Our Church is yet plainer;—'That we, with this our brother and all other departed in the faith of Thy Holy Name, may have our perfect consummation of blessedness in Thy everlasting Kingdom[r].' This is far enough from your more gainful prayers for the dead to deliver them out of Purgatory.

The authority of the Pope.

Lastly, concerning the authority of the Pope;—it is he himself that hath renounced his lawful Patriarchal authority; and if we should offer it him at this day, he would disdain it: we have only freed ourselves from his tyrannical usurped authority. But upon what terms, upon what grounds, how far, and with what intention, we have separated ourselves, or rather have suffered ourselves to be separated, from the Church of Rome, you may find if you please in the Treatise of Schism[s].

. 5. I cannot choose but wonder to see you cite St. Cyprian

[r] [Burial Service.]

[s] [Discourse ii. Part i.]

against us in this case; who separated himself from you, as well as we, in the days of a much better Bishop than we, and upon much weaker grounds than we, and published his dissent to the world in two African Councils [t]. He liked not the swelling title of Bishop of Bishops, nor that one Bishop should tyrannically terrify another into obedience [u]; no more do we. He gave a primacy, or principality, of order, to the Chair of St. Peter, as '*principium unitatis* [x];' so do we: but he believed that every Bishop had an equal share of Episcopal power [y]; so do we. He provided apart, as he thought fit, in a provincial Council, for his own safety and the safety of his flock [z]; so did we. He writ to your great Bishop as to his brother and colleague, and dared to reprehend him for receiving but a letter from such as had been censured by the African Bishops [a]. In St. Cyprian's sense, *you* are the beam that have separated yourselves from the body of the sun; *you* are the bough that is lopped from the tree; *you* are the stream which is divided from the fountain [b].
39 It is *you*, principally *you*, that have divided the unity of the Church.

Whether human laws bind the conscience.

You collect as a corollary from our supposed principle of the right and sufficiency of private judgment, enlightened by the Spirit, that 'no human authority can bind the conscience of another, or prescribe any thing unto it.' I have formerly [p. 6.] shewed you your gross mistake in the premises. Now, if you please, hear our sense of the conclusion. Human laws cannot be properly said to bind the conscience by the sole authority

[t] [There were three Councils of Carthage (one A. D. 255, two A. D. 256, according to Pearson,) de Rebaptizandis Hæreticis, of which, however, only the second (Cypr. ad Stephanum, Epist. 72. pp. 196, sq.) and the third (Act. Concil. Carthag. ap. Cypr. Op. pp. 229, sq.) have any relation to the difference upon the subject between S. Cyprian and Stephen the then Bishop of Rome, the former declaring its independence, the latter its denial, of Stephen's opinion. See Harduin. Concil. tom. i. and Pearson's Annales Cyprianici.]

[u] ["Neque enim quisque nostrum *Episcopum* se *Episcoporum* constituit, aut *tyrannico terrore ad obsequendi necessitatem collegas suos adigit.*" Cyprian (to the third Council of those mentioned in note t). Op. p. 229.]

[x] [See above, note m. p. 32.]

[y] [De Unitate. Op. pp. 107, 108.]

[z] [There were at least three Councils of Carthage held by S. Cyprian, besides the three mentioned in note t, and all apart from, although not against, the Bishop of Rome. See Harduin. Concil. tom. i; and Pearson's Annales Cyprianici.]

[a] [Cyprian to Cornelius concerning Feliciissimus, Epist. 59. pp. 126, sq.; and to Stephen concerning Marcian, Epist. 68. pp. 176, sq.]

[b] [Cypr. de Unitate, Op. p. 108,—quoted by La Milletière.]

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of the lawgiver; but partly by the equity of the law, every one being obliged to advance that which conduceth to a public good,—"thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself;"—and especially by Divine authority, which commands 'every soul to be subject to the higher powers for conscience' sake,' not prudentially only. The question is soon decided. Just laws of lawful superiors, either civil or ecclesiastical, have authority to bind the conscience *in* themselves, but not *from* themselves[c].

[Levit. xix. 18. &c.]

[Rom. xiii. 1-5.]

pp. 6. 7. 12. The Author a little enthusiastical.

How shall we believe that 'it is not you, but God, that represents these things to his Majesty, that addresseth them to him by your mouth, that calleth him, that stretcheth out His hand to him, that hath set these things before his eyes in characters not to be defaced?' What? That his Majesty should turn Roman Catholic? Are they like Belshazzar's characters? and are you the only Daniel that can read them? We do not see a Cloven Tongue upon your head, nor a Dove seeming to whisper in your ear. Be not too confident, lest some take it to be a little taint of Anabaptism; perhaps you have had as strange fantasies as this heretofore, whilst you were of a contrary party[d].

Be it what it will be, you cannot offer it to his Majesty with more confidence, or pretend more intimacy with God, or to be more familiarly acquainted with His Cabinet-Council, than a Scotch presbyter; and yet yourself would not value all his confidence at a button. Wise men are not easily gained by empty shows or pretences, that signify nothing but the pretender's vanity, nor by enthusiastical interpretation of occurrences. It is only the weight of reason that depresseth the scale of their judgment, and maketh them to yield and submit unto it.

Howsoever it be God or you that represent these things to his Majesty, you tell us, that 'the end is to reduce him from those errors which he sucked in with his milk; which in the days of peace and abundance it had been difficult for him to discover, but now his eyes and his ears do see and hear

[p. 7.]

[c] [See Field, Of the Church &c. bk. iv. cc. 32, &c. pp. 397, &c., who quotes Stapleton's distinction concerning human laws, viz. that they are binding not "*ex solâ legislatoris voluntate sed ex ipsâ legum utilitate et ratione.*"]

[d] [See note a, p. 7.]

those truths which make it evident to him, that God hath condemned *them* to reduce *him* to the communion of the Church;' wherein you promise him all manner of blessings. Who told you of his Majesty's new illumination? or what have you seen to believe any such thing? When you dare avouch such gross untruths of himself to himself, how should he credit your private presumptions, which you tell him as a new Mercury dropped down from Heaven.

[p. 7.] The Romanists require submission to their Church as necessary to salvation;

You tell us, that 'it is necessary for every one to adhere to the true Church, which is the Keeper of saving truth.' That is true, but nothing to his Majesty, who hath more right already in the Catholic Church than yourself. You tell us moreover that this Church is the Roman Church. That is not true; but suppose it were most true, as it is most false, what should a man be better or more nearer to the knowledge of the truth, and consequently to his salvation, for his submission to the Roman Church, as long as you cannot agree among yourselves, either what this Roman Church is, or what this infallible judge is? One saith it is the Pope alone; another saith, no, but the Pope with his Conclave of Cardinals; a third will go no less than the Pope and a provincial Council; a fourth will not be contented without the Pope and a general Council; a fifth is for a general Council alone, either with or without the Pope; a sixth party (and they are of no small esteem amongst you here at this present) is for the essential Church, that is, the company of all faithful people, whose reception (say they) makes the true ratification of the acts of its representative body[e]. It were as good to have no infallible judge, as not to know or agree who it is. Be not so censorious in condemning others for not submitting to your Roman Church or infallible judge, nor so positive to make this submission so absolutely necessary to salvation, until you agree better what this judge or Church is. It is five to one against you, that you yourself miss the right judge.

yet cannot agree among themselves what this Roman Church is.

40 Whatsoever become of *your* Church, you say, '*ours* is perished by the proper axioms of our own Reformation, and hath no more any subsistence in the world, nor pretence to

The English Church not perished. [p. 7.]

[e] [See Bramhall's Protestants' Ordination Defended (Works, p. 1020. fol. edit.), Discourse vii. Part iv.]

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the privilege of a Church.' This is hard. "He perisheth twice that perisheth by his own weapons[f]." Even so Joseph's brethren told Joseph himself, with conscience guilty enough, "one is not." This is that which the Court of Rome would be content to purchase at any rate. This hath been the end of all their negociations and instructions by all means to support the Presbyterian faction in England against Episcopacy. Not that they loved them more than us, but that they feared us more than them.

Gen. xlii. 13.

There was an Israelitish Church, when Elias did not see it; but he must be as blind as Bartimæus, that cannot see the English Church. Wheresoever there is a lawful English pastor, and an English flock, and a subordination of this flock to that pastor, there is a branch of the true English Protestant Church. Do you make no difference between a Church persecuted, and a Church extinguished? Have patience, and expect the catastrophe. It may be all this while 'the carpenter's Son is making a coffin for Julian[g].' If it please God, we may yet see the Church of England, which is now frying in the fire, come out like gold out of the furnace, more pure, and more full of lustre. If not, His will be done. "Just art Thou, O Lord, and righteous are all Thy judgments." The Primitive Church was as glorious in the sight of God, when they served Him in holes and corners—*in cryptis, sacellis, conventiculis, ecclesiolis,* as when His worship was more splendidly performed in *Basilicis* and *Cyriacis*—in goodly Churches and magnificent Cathedrals.

[1 Kings xix. 10-18.]

[Ps. cxix. 137.]

p. 8. The Author's vain dreams.

Your design stops not at the King of Great Britain, but extends itself to all his subjects, yea, to all Protestants whatsoever. I wonder why you stay there, and would not add all the Eastern Churches; and the Great Turk himself, since you might have done it with another penful of ink, and with as much pretence of reason,—to secure himself from the joint forces of Christendom, thus united by your means. A strong fantasy will discover armies and navies in the clouds,

[f] ["Bis interimitur, qui suis armis perit." Erasm. Adag. Chil. iv. Cent. i. Prov. 96.]

[g] [The Emperor Julian, when at Antioch immediately before his fatal expedition against the Persians, is said to have asked in derision of a 'Christian doctor, 'What the carpenter's Son was doing?' The answer was "Γλαυσάκωμον κατασκευάζει." Theodor. Hist. Eccles. iii. 23; Sozom. Hist. Eccles. vi. 2.]

men and horses and chariots in the fire, and hear articulate dictates from the bells. This is not to write waking but dreaming. DISCOURSE I.

Yet you make it an easy work; 'to effect which there needs no disputation, but only to behold the heretical genius of our Reformation, which is sufficiently condemned by itself, if men will only take the pains to compare the fundamental principles thereof with the consequences.' Great houses and forts are builded at an easy charge in paper. When you have consulted with your architects and engineers, you will find it to be a work of more difficulty. And your adversaries' resolution may teach you, to your cost, what it is to promise to yourself such an easy conquest before the fight; and let you see that those golden mountains, which you have fantasied, have no subsistence but in your brain; and send you home to seek that self-conviction there, which you sought to fasten upon others. When you are able to prove your universal Monarchy, your new Canon of Faith, your new Treasury of the Church, your new Roman Purgatory, whereof the Pope keeps the keys, your Image-worship, your Common-Prayers in a tongue unknown, your detaining of the Cup from the laity in the public administration of the Sacrament, and the rest of your new Creed, out of the four first general Councils, or the universal tradition of the Church in those days, either as principles or fundamental truths (which you affirm), or so much as ordinary points of Faith (which we deny), we will yield ourselves to be guilty both of contradiction and schism. Until you are able to make these innovations good, it were best for you to be silent, and leave your vapouring. Desperate undertakings do easily forfeit a man's reputation. pp. 8, 9.

His vainer proposition of a conference. pp. 9, &c.

Now are we come to the most specious piece of your whole Epistle, that is, 'the motion or proposition of a conference, by authority of the King of France, at the instance of the King of Great Britain, before the Archbishop of Paris and his Coadjutor, between some of your Roman Catholic doctors, and the ministers of the Reformed Church at Paris,' whom you do deservedly commend for their sufficiency and zeal. You farther suppose, that 'the ministers of the Reformed Church
41 will accept of such a disputation, or by their tergiversation betray the weakness of their cause:' and you conclude

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confidently beyond supposition, that 'they will be confuted and convicted, and that their conversion or conviction will afford sufficient ground to the King of Great Britain to embrace the communion of the Roman Catholic Church;' and 'that his conversion will reduce all conscientious Protestants to unity and due obedience.'

I will contract your larger palm to a fist. If the King of Great Britain desire a solemn conference, the King of France will enjoin it; if he enjoin it, the ministers will accept it; if they do accept, they are sure to be convicted; if they be convicted, the King of Great Britain will change his religion; if he change his religion, all conscientious Protestants will be reduced; and all this to be done, not by the old way of disputing,—no, take heed of that, 'the burnt child dreads the fire',—but by a proper new way of refuting old Protestant principles by new Independent practices. Why was this remedy found out no sooner? This might have eased the Cardinals in their consultations about propagating the Faith[h]; this might have saved Cardinal Allen[i] all his Machiavelian instructions to his English emissaries; this may in a short time turn the Inquisitors out of their employment for want of an object, and not leave such a thing as heretical pravity in the world. How must men praise your fortune, and applaud your invention? But stay; the second thoughts are wiser: what if this chain, supposed to be of adamant, should prove a rope of sand? And so it is. I have seen a *sorites* disgraced, and hissed out of the schools, for drawing

[h] [The Congregation "De Propagandâ Fide," which consisted originally of either thirteen or eighteen Cardinals, with only two priests, one monk, and a secretary, was founded by Gregory XV. in 1622: and the seminary for the same purpose was added by Urban VIII. in 1627. Mosh., Eccles. Hist., Cent. xvii. sect. 1. §. 1, 2.]

[i] [For an account of the celebrated Card. Allen (*Alanus*), see Godwin's Præsul., inter Cardinal., in fin.—Camden's Annal. Reg. Elizab., in ann. 1589, 1594.—Wood's Athen. Oxon. by Bliss, vol. i. pp. 615, &c.—and the Roman Catholic Dodd's Ch. Hist., vol. ii. pp. 44, &c. 219. &c. He was successively Fellow of Oriel, and Principal of St. Mary's Hall in Oxford during the reign of Queen Mary, but went abroad upon the accession of Elizabeth on account of his religion, and took an active part in founding the English Colleges at Douay, Rheims, and Rome. His zeal was rewarded by a Canonry of Cambray, and then of Rheims, by a Cardinal's hat in 1587, and the Archbishopric of Mechlin in 1589, and finally by the appointment of 'Præfectus Missionum Anglicanarum' in 1591; in which last capacity, and as Rector successively of the two Colleges of Douay and Rheims, he directed the too commonly treasonable intrigues of the numerous seminary-priests sent thence into England.]

but one lame leg after it; this is foundered of all four: from the beginning to the latter end there is nothing in it but future contingents, which are known only to God,—not one grain of necessary truth. DISCOURSE I.

First, Sir, be not angry if a man take away the subject of your whole discourse: it is but your officiousness, the King desires no such conference. Let them desire conferences who waver in their faith [k]. All these blustering storms have radicated *him* deeper in his religion: and chiefly that which you make the chiefest motive to his apostating, the martyrdom of his Royal father, and an hereditary love to that Church which he hath justified with his blood. The King of England desires no such conference.

Secondly, if his Majesty should incline to such a conference, do you think he would desert the English clergy,—who have forsaken their country, their friends, their estates, out of their conscience, out of their duty to God and their Sovereign; who understand the constitution of the English Church much better than yourself, or any foreigners how sufficient soever;—and cast himself wholly upon strangers, whose Reformation (you say) is different from that of England in the points of Episcopacy, Liturgy, and the ceremonies of the Church? Say; what was the reason of this gross omission? Were you afraid of that "image of the Church" (as you call it in a slighting manner), which they retained? Or did you not think any of the English nation worthy to bear your books at a conference? It hath been otherwise heretofore; and you will find it otherwise now, when you come to prove it. I know not whether England hath been more fortunate or unfortunate since the Reformation, in breeding as many able polemic writers on both sides, as any nation in Europe; Stapleton, Harding, Parsons, Sanders, Reynolds, Bishop, &c. for the Roman Church; Jewel, Andrewes, Abbot, Laud, White, Field, Montague, Reynolds, Whitaker, &c. for the English Church (I forbear to name those that are living); and many more who come not short of these, if they had pleased to communicate their talents to the world. This is such a contumely that reflects upon the nation; and you must be contented to be told of it. If he should, he had neither reason nor need to desert his English clergy. [p. 5.] [p. 2.]

Thirdly, how are you sure that the King of France and his Such a conference

[k] [See note a, p. 7.]

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Council would give way to such a public conference? Private insinuations use to prevail much when a man may *lavere*[1] and tack to and again to compass his ends; authority or the sword may put an end to controversies: but public conferences for the most part do but start new questions, and revive old forgotten animosities. What were the Donatists the better for the Collation at Carthage[m]? The mind of a man is generous; and where it looks for opposition, it fortifies itself against it. Urban the Eighth was the wisest Pope you have had of late, who by his moderation and courtesy cooled much of that heat, which the violence of his predecessors had raised against the Court of Rome. The mild beams of the sun were more prevalent than the blustering blasts of the north wind[n]. Multiplying of words more commonly engenders strife, than peace.

not fit to be granted by the King of France;

Fourthly, upon what grounds are you so confident, that the ministers of the Reformed Church would admit of such a public disputation upon those terms which you propose; that is, to accept of the Archbishop of Paris and his Coadjutor, two persons interessed, for competent judges? I am as confident of the contrary,—that they would rather choose to suffer, than wrong their cause so much. "*Frustra fit per plura, quod fieri potest per pauciora:*"—it were a readier way for them, and but the same in effect, to subscribe to a blank paper, and to submit without disputation.

nor to be accepted by the ministers of the Reformed Church [of France];

Fifthly, suppose (all this notwithstanding) such a conference should hold, what reason have you to promise to yourself such success as to obtain so easy a victory? You have had conferences and conferences again at Poissy[o] and other places, and gained by them just as much as you might put in

nor could any such success be expected from it.

[1] [*Lavere* (from *veeren*, Dutch), to change the direction often in a course. Johnson.]

[m] [Summoned, A. D. 411, by order of the Emperor Honorius, at the request of the Catholic Bishops, to which the Donatists however acceded; held in the same year before the Tribune Marcellinus; and finally decided in favour of the Catholics.]

[n] [Avieni Fab. iv.]

[o] [The Colloquy of Poissy was held in that town, A. D. 1561, in the presence of King Charles IX. and of the Queen-mother Catherine de Médicis, between six Cardinals, assisted by several Bishops and doctors, on the Roman Catholic side, and, on that of the Reformed, Theodore Beza, Peter Martyr, Jean Viret, and ten others. It was broken off, without effecting any of its objects, upon the refusal of the Reformed party to sign a Confession of Faith presented to them on the subject of the Eucharist. Fleury, Hist. Eccles., liv. 157. tom. xxxii. pp. 103, &c. 4to. 1750, 1758.—Benoît, Hist. de l'Edit de Nantes, tom. i. pp. 27, 28.]

your eye and see never the worse. When conferences are only made use of as pageants, to grace the introduction of some new proselyte, and to preserve his reputation from the aspersion of desultorious levity, they *seem* much more efficacious than they *are:* as they know well enough, who are privy to what is acted in the withdrawing-room. The time was when you have been as confident in a contrary opinion[p], —that such a free conference would have scaled the walls of Rome, and levelled the Pope's triple Crown.

The Author's impertinence and sauciness with the King.

Sixthly, whether the ministers should accept of such a partial unequal conference or not, or whatsoever should be the success thereof, you trespass too boldly upon his Majesty's patience, to dictate to him so pragmatically, so magisterially, what he should do, or would do, in such a case, which is never like to be. Doth his father's constancy encourage you to believe, that he is 'a reed shaken with the wind?' "*Qui pauca considerat, facilè pronunciat:*"—'he that weighs no more circumstances or occurrences than serve for the advancement of his design, pronounceth sentence easily,' but temerariously, and for the most part unsoundly. When such a thing as you dream of should happen, it were good manners in you to leave his Majesty to his Christian liberty; but to trouble yourself and others about the moon's shining in the water, so unseasonably, so impertinently, or with what will come to pass when the sky falls, is unbeseeming the Counsellor of a King. [Matt. xi. 7. Luke vii. 24.]

His pen overruns his wit.

Lastly, consider how your pen doth overrun your reason, and overreach all grounds of probability, to ascribe unto his Majesty's change such an infallible influence upon all Protestants, as to reduce them to the Roman communion,—not only his own subjects, but foreigners. His blessed father's example had not so much influence upon the Scots his native subjects. He was no changeling, indeed, neither to the right hand nor to the left. Henry the Fourth, his grandfather, did turn indeed to the Roman Church. Had his change any such influence upon the Protestant party in France? I know no followers such a change would gain him, but I foresee clearly how many hearts it would lose him. Certainly, Sir, if you would do a meritorious piece of service to his

[p] [See above, note a, p. 7.]

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greatest adversaries, you could not fix upon any thing that would content them more highly, than to see you successful in this undertaking.

I have done with your proposition. He that compares it and your 'Demonstration' together, will easily judge them to be twins, at the first sight.

As a motive to his Majesty's conversion, you present him [pp. 10, 11.] with a treatise of Transubstantiation, and desire 'that it may appear unto the world under his Royal name.'

His improper choice of a patron for his treatise [of Transubstantiation].

I meddle not with your treatise;—some of your learned adversary's friends will give you your hands full enough;—but how can his Majesty protect or patronize a treatise against his judgment, against his conscience, so contrary to the doctrine of the Church of England, not only since the Reformation, but before? About the year 700:—'The Body of Christ wherein He suffered, and His Body consecrated in the Host, differ much. The Body wherein He suffered was born 43 of the Virgin, consisting of flesh and bones and human members; His Spiritual Body, which we call the Host, consists of many grains, without blood, bones, or human members; wherefore nothing is to be understood there corporally, but all spiritually[q].' Transubstantiation was neither held for an article of Faith, nor a point of Faith, in those days.

pp. 8, &c. His unskilfulness, or his unfortunateness, in his 'Demonstrations.'

You charge the Protestants in divers places, 'That they have neither Church nor Faith, but have lost both;' and at the latter end of your treatise you undertake to demonstrate it[r]: but your 'Demonstration' is a mere paralogism. You multiply your terms, you confound your terms, you change and alter your terms, contrary to the rules of right arguing; and vainly beat the air, concluding nothing which you ought to prove, nothing which your adversary will deny. You would prove that Protestants have no Church. That you

[q] Serm. Saxon. in Festo Paschat. ["A Sermon of the Paschal Lambe, and of the Sacramental Body and Bloud of Christ our Saviour, written in the old Saxon tongue before the Conquest, and appointed in the reigne of the Saxons to be spoken unto the people at Easter, &c."—first printed (with a translation, modernized by Bramhall in the text) by order of Abp. Parker, by John Day, Lond. 8vo. (Strype's Parker, vol. i. p. 472. Oxf. 1821); and thence by Foxe (Acts and Monum. bk. viii. pp. 1142, sq. edit. of 1583), Lisle (Ancient Monum. &c. Lond. 1623, and again 1638), and others. It was translated from Latin into Saxon by Ælfric about the end of the tenth century. See a full account of it in Soames's Bampton Lectures, pp. 422, &c.]

[r] P. 222. [of the "Victoire de la Vérité." See note b, p. 10, of La Milletière's Epistle.]

never attempt. But you do attempt to prove (how pitiful, God knows), that they are not the only Church, that is, the One Holy Catholic Church. This they did never affirm, they did never think. It sufficeth them to be a part of that universal Church; more pure, more orthodox, more Catholic, than the Roman; always professing Christ visibly, never lurking invisibly in another communion, which is another of your mistakes[s]. I should advise you to promise us no more "Evident Demonstrations;" either your skill, or your luck, is so extremely bad.

In the second place you affirm, that 'Faith is founded upon Divine authority and Revelation, and deposited with the Church[t].' All that is true; but that which you add, that "it is founded in the authority of Christ speaking by the mouth of His Church[t]," —by this Church understanding the Church of this age, and (which is yet worse) the Church of one place, and (which is worst of all) the Bishop of that one Church,—is most false.

The great advantage of the Protestant above the Roman Catholic in the choice of his foundation.

And so is that which you add, that 'the Faith of Protestants is founded upon their own reasonings, which makes so many differences among them[t].' Reason must be subservient in the application of the rule of Faith; it cannot be the foundation of Faith. Bad reasoning may bring forth differences and errors about Faith, both with you and us; but the abuse of reason doth not take away the use of reason. We have this advantage of you, that if any one of us do build an erroneous opinion upon the Holy Scripture, yet, because our adherence to the Scripture is firmer and nearer than our adherence to our particular error, that full and free and universal assent, which we give to Holy Scripture and to all things therein contained, is an implicit condemnation and retractation of our particular error, which we hold unwittingly, and unwillingly, against Scripture: but your foundation of Faith being composed of uncertainties,—whether this man be Pope or not, whether this Pope be judge or not, whether this judge be infallible or not, and if infallible, wherein, and how far;—the Faith which is builded thereupon cannot but be fallible and uncertain: the stricter the adherence is to a false,

[s] [Field, Of the Church, bk. i. c. 10. pp. 14, &c.]

[t] [Pp. 226, 227, of the "Vict. de la Vér."]

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uncertain, or fallible rule, the more dangerous is the error. So our right foundation purgeth away our error in superstruction; and your wrong foundation lessens the value of your truths, and doubles the guilt of your errors.

[The Author's 'Demonstration' requited upon himself.]

I will (by your leave) requite your 'Demonstration,' and turn the mouths of your own canons against yourself.

That Church which hath changed the Apostolical Creed, the Apostolical succession, the Apostolical regiment, and the Apostolical communion, is no Apostolical, orthodox, or Catholic Church.

But the Church of Rome hath changed the Apostolical Creed, the Apostolical succession, the Apostolical regiment, and the Apostolical communion.

Therefore the Church of Rome is no Apostolical, orthodox, or Catholic Church.

They have changed the Apostolical Creed,—by making a new Creed[u], wherein are many things inserted, that hold no analogy with the old Apostles' Creed; the Apostolical succession,—by engrossing the whole succession to Rome, and making all other Bishops to be but the Pope's Vicars and substitutes, as to their jurisdiction; the Apostolical regiment,—by 44
erecting a visible and universal monarchy in the Church; and, lastly, the Apostolical communion,—by excommunicating three parts of the Holy Catholic Apostolic Church[x].

Again; that Church, which resolves its faith, not into Divine revelation and authority, but into human infallibility, or the infallibility of the present Church, without knowing, or according, what that present Church is, whether the *virtual*, or the *representative*, or the *essential*, Church, or a body compounded of some of these, hath no true faith.

But the Church of Rome resolves its faith, not into Divine revelation and authority, but into the infallibility of the present Church, not knowing, or not according, what that present Church is, whether the *virtual* Church (that is, the Pope), or the *representative* Church (that is, a general Council), or the *essential* Church (that is, the Church of believers diffused over the world), or a body compounded of some of

[u] [Viz. the Tridentine Creed; see above p. 26.]

[x] [See these last three points shewn in full in Bramhall's Vindication, &c. c. 8. (Works, pp. 122—125. fol. edit.), Discourse ii. Part i.]

these (that is, the Pope and a general or provincial Council)[v]. DISCOURSE I.

Therefore the Church of Rome hath not true faith.

The greater number of your writers is for the Pope, that this infallibility is fixed to his Chair. But, of all other judgments, that is most fallible and uncertain; for, if simony make a nullity in a Papal election, we have great reason to doubt, that that Chair hath not been filled by a right Pope these last hundred years. These are no other but your own mediums; such luck you have with your 'irrefragable demonstrations.'

'In case his Majesty will turn Roman Catholic,' you promise him 'restitution to his Kingdoms.' p. 12. His Majesty's apostacy is not the way to his restitution.

Great undertakers are seldom good performers: when you are making your proselytes, you promise them golden mountains; but when the work is done, you deal with them, as he did with his Saint, who promised a candle as big as his mast, and offered one no bigger than his finger. Do you, however, think it reason, that any man should change his religion for temporal respects, though it were for a kingdom? Jeroboam did so;—you may remember what was the success of it. [1 Kings xii. 26. 33.]

You propose this as 'the readiest means to restore him.' Others, who penetrate deeper into the true state of his affairs, look upon it as the readiest way to ruin his hopes, by the alienation of his friends, by the confirmation of his foes, and in some sort the justification of their former feigned fears. Do you think all Roman Catholic princes desire this change as earnestly as yourself? Give them leave first to consult with their particular interests. A common interest prevails more with confederates than a common Faith. The sword distinguisheth not between Protestants and Papists.

But what is the ground of this your great confidence? No less than Scripture;—"Seek ye first the Kingdom of God and the righteousness of it, and all other things shall be added unto you." You say 'the word of God deceives no man.' True, but you may deceive yourself out of the word of God:—the conclusion always follows the weaker part. Such as this are commonly your mistaken grounds, when they come to be [Matt. vi. 33.] [p. 12.]

[v] ['Ecclesia *virtualis*, *representativa*, *essentialis*.' bk. iv. c. 1. pp. 343, 344.] See Field, Of the Church,

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examined. The text saith, "Seek the Kingdom of God;" you would have his Majesty desert the Kingdom of God. The promise is of all things necessary or convenient; you will be your own carver, and oblige God Almighty to kingdoms and particular conditions. The promise is made (as all temporal promises are) with an implicit exception of the Cross,—unless God see it to be otherwise more expedient for us. He, that denies us gold and gives us patience and other graces

1 Pet. i. 7. 'more precious than gold,' that denies a temporal kingdom to give an eternal, doth not wrong us. This was out of your head.

p. 12. The obligation of the Scots to his Majesty the greatest of any subjects' in the known world.

That the Scots had an ancienter obligation to fidelity towards his Majesty and that Royal family, than the English, is a truth not to be doubted or disputed of; I think I may safely add, than any nation in Europe, or in the known world, to their Prince, his Majesty being the hundred-and-tenth monarch of that line, that hath swayed the sceptre of that kingdom successively[z]. The more the pity that a few treacherous Shebas, and a pack of bawling seditious orators,

[2 Sam. xx.] under the vizard and shadow of pure religion, to the extreme scandal of all honest professors, should be able to overturn such an ancient fabric and radicated succession of kingly government.

Their treachery.

But take heed, Sir, how you believe that any engagement of the Presbyterian faction in Scotland proceeded either from conscience, or gratitude, or fidelity, or aimed at the re-settling of his Majesty upon his throne. No, no, their hearts were double, their treaties on their parts were mere treacheries from the beginning. I mean not any of those many loyal patriots, that never bowed their knees to Baal-

[Judg. viii. 33.] berith, the God of the Covenant, in that nation; nor yet any

The loyal Scots excepted. of those serious converts, that no sooner discovered the leger-demain of a company of canting impostors, but they sought to stop the stream of schism and sedition with the hazard of their own lives and estates; nor even those, whose eyes were

[z] [So says Buchanan (Rer. Scotic. Hist., lib. xviii., in fin.), reckoning James the First to be the 108th in descent from Fergus, B. C. 330. King Charles the First insists upon the same topic in his speech to the Scotch Parliament, Aug. 19, 1641. (Works of Charles I. p. 391. Lond. 1662.), and Bramhall himself in his Sermon upon the Restoration (Works, p. 954. fol. edit.), Discourse ii. Part iv.]

longer held with the spirit of slumber by some stronger spells of disciplinarian charmers, but did yet later open their eyes, and come in to do their duties at the sixth or ninth hour. All these are expunged by me out of this black roll. Let their posterities enjoy the fruit of their respective loyalties; and let their memories be daily more and more blessed. But I mean the obstinate ring-leaders and standard-bearers of the Presbyterian Covenant of both robes, and the setters-up of that misshapen idol:—it is from these, I say, that no help or hope could in reason be expected. They, who sold the father, and such a father, were not likely to prove loyal to the son: they, who hanged up one of the most ancient gentlemen in Europe, the gallant Marquis of Montrose, being then their lawful Viceroy, like a dog in such base and barbarous manner, together with his Majesty's commission, to the public dishonour of their King, in the chief city of that kingdom, in a time of treaty[a]: they, who purged the army, over and over, as loth on their parts willingly to leave one dram of honesty or loyalty in it; who would not admit their fellow-subjects of much more merit and courage than themselves to assist them: they, who would not permit his Majesty to continue among the soldiery, lest he should grow too popular: they, who, after they had proclaimed to the world his title and right to the Crown, yet sought to have him excluded from the benefit of it and from the execution of his kingly office, until he should abjure his religion, cast dirt upon his parents, alienate his loyal subjects, and ratify the usurpations of his rebels[b]: these, these, I say,—were most unlikely persons to be his restorers. Was it ever heard before, that subjects acknowledged a Sovereign, and yet endeavoured to exclude him from his rights, until he had granted whatsoever seemed good in their eyes? Others may be more severe in their judgments; but I for my part could be well contented, that God would give them the honour to

The disloyal Scots deciphered.

No hope from that party, until they repent.

[a] [See Wisheart's Life of Montrose, pp. 188—193. ed. 1720. The declaration published by the Marquis in the name of the King upon his last return into Scotland in 1650, was hung round his neck at his execution; to which circumstance Bramhall's words may perhaps refer.]

[b] [Compare Hume's account of Charles's brief reign, if it may be so called, in Scotland,—Hist. of Eng., Of the Commonw., c. 1.]

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be the repairers of the breach, who have been the makers of the breach; to be the restorers of monarchy, who have been the ruiners of monarchy; to be the re-establishers of peace, who have been the chiefest Catilines and promoters of war: but that can never be whilst they justify their former rebellious practices, and, after they have eaten and devoured, 'wipe their mouths, and say, What have we done?'—until they acknowledge their former errors. Repentance only is able to knit the broken bone. Why should they be more afraid to confess their faults and shame the Devil, than to commit them?

[Prov. xxx. 20.]

p. 13. God must not be limited to time or means of deliverance.

Yet I cannot say with you, that this 'hath robbed his Majesty of all hopes and means of recovery.' We may not limit God to any time, Who commonly withholds His help until the bricks be doubled, until the edge of the razor doth touch the very throat of His servant, that the glory of the work may wholly redound to Himself. We may not limit God to those means which seem most probable in our eyes. So long as Joseph trusted to his friend in Court, God did forget him; when Pharaoh's Butler had quite forgotten Joseph, then God remembered him. God hath nobler ways of restitution than by battles and bloodshed; that is, by changing the hearts of His creatures at His pleasure, and turning Esau's vowed revenge into love and kindness.

[Gen. xl.]

[Gen. xxxiii.]

p. 13. His Majesty's escape out of England almost miraculous.

I confess, 'his Majesty's resolution was great;' so was his prudence; that neither fear ('which useth to betray the succours of the soul[c]'), nor any indiscreet action, or word, or gesture, in so long a time, should either discover him, or render him suspected. When I consider that the heir of a crown, in the midst of that kingdom where he had his breeding, whom all men's eyes had used to court as the rising sun, of no common features or physiognomy, at such time when he was not only believed but known to be among them, when every corner of the kingdom was full of spies to search for him, and every port and inn full of officers to apprehend him; I say, that he should travel at such a time, so long, so far, so freely, in the sight of the sun, exposed to the view of all persons, without either discovery, or suspicion,

[c] ["Fear is nothing else but a betraying of the succours which reason offereth." Wisdom xvii. 12.]

seems little less than a miracle;—that God had smitten the eyes of those who met him with blindness; as the eyes of the Sodomites, that they could not find Lot's door, or the Syrian soldiers that were sent to apprehend Elisha. This strange escape, and that former out of Scotland, where his condition was not much better, nor his person much safer, do seem strangely to presage, that God hath yet some great work to be done by him in His own due time.

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[Gen. xix. 11.] [2 Kings vi. 13. 23.] and seems to presage that God hath some things to do with him.

You attribute this rare deliverance, and the hopes of his conversion, in part 'to the prayers and tears of his mother.' Prayers and tears were the only proper arms of the old primitive Christians; more particularly they are the best and most agreeable defence of that sex; but especially the prayers and tears of a mother, for the 'son of her desires,' are most powerful. As it was said of the prayers and tears of Monica for St. Austin her son, *"fieri non potuit ut filius istarum lacrymarum periret"*—"it could not be that a son should perish for whom so many tears were shed [d]." God 'sees her tears,' and 'hears her prayers,' and will grant her request, if not according to her will and desire (we often ask those things, which, being granted, would prove prejudicial to ourselves and our friends), yet '*ad utilitatem* [e]'—to his Majesty's greater advantage, which is much better: she wisheth him a good Catholic, and God will preserve him a good Catholic as he is. We do not doubt but the prayers of his father ('who now follows the Lamb in his whites') for his perseverance, will be more effectual with God, than the prayers of his mother for his change.

pp. 13, 14. Prayers and tears the proper arms of women; especially of mothers;

[p. 14.] yet not so powerful as his father's intercession, now in Heaven.

[Rev. vii. 13, 14. xiv. 4.]

Your instance of his Majesty's grandfather, your grand King Henry the Fourth, is not so apposite, or fit for your purpose. He gained his crown by turning himself *towards* his people; you would persuade his Majesty to turn *from* his people, and to cast away his possibilities of restitution; that is, 'to cut off a natural leg, and take one of wood [f]'.

p. 14. The Author's instance of Henry the Great not pertinent.

To the tears of his mother you add the blood of his father, whom you justly style happy, and say most truly of him, that

The just commendation of

[d] [August. Confess., lib. iii. c. 12. tom. i. p. 96. F.]

[e] ["Exauditus *ad salutem* etsi non *ad voluntatem*." August. In Joh. Epist., c. 3. Tract. vi. § 6, 7. tom. iii. P. 2. p. 866. "*Utilitati* magis quam *voluntati*." Id., Epist. civ. § 7. tom. ii. p. 292. D.]

[f] Plutarch. [?]

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King Charles [the First].

'he preferred the Catholic Faith before his crown, his liberty, his life, and whatsoever was most dear unto him.' This Faith was formerly rooted in his heart by God, not 'secretly and invisibly in the last moments of his life to unite him to the' (Roman) 'Catholic Church,' but openly during his whole reign, all which time he lived in the bosom of the true Catholic Church. Yet you are so extremely partial to yourself, that you affirm that he died invisibly a member of your Roman Catholic Church, as it is by you contra-distinguished to the rest of the Christian world:—an old pious fraud or artifice of yours, learned from Machiavel, to gain credit to your religion by all means, either true or false; but contrary to his own profession at his death[g], contrary to the express knowledge of all that were present at his murder;—upon a vain presumption, that "*talem, nisi vestra Ecclesia, nulla pareret filium.*" And because you are not able to produce one living witness, you cite St. Austin to no purpose, to prove that 'the elect before they are converted, do belong invisibly to the Church[h]':—yea, and before they were born also[i]. But St. Austin neither said nor thought, that after they are converted they make no visible profession, or profess the contrary to that which they believe. Seek not thus to adorn your particular Church, not with borrowed, but with stolen, Saints, whom all the world know to have been none of yours. What Faith he professed living, he confirmed dying. In the communion of the Church of England he lived, and in that communion at his death he commended his soul into the hands of God his Saviour.

It is gross impudence to feign that he died a Roman Catholic.

The Author's confession [that he did so,] confutes his 'Demonstration,' that 'Protestants have no Faith.'

That which you have confessed here concerning King Charles, will spoil your former 'Demonstration,' that 'the Protestants have neither Church nor Faith[k].'

But you confess no more in particular here, than I have heard some of your famous Roman doctors in this city[l] acknowledge to be true in general; and no more than that

[g] [Made upon the scaffold to Bp. Juxon (King Charles's Works, p. 455). See also Bramhall's Vindication of Episc. Clergy, c. 3. (Works, p. 617. fol. edit.), Discourse iii. Part ii.]

[h] [August., De Bapt. cont. Donatist., lib. v. c. 38. tom. ix. p. 159. F.]

[i] ["Eliguntur qui non sunt,"—says St. Augustin himself, Serm. xxvi. tom. v. p. 138. B.]

[k] [Compare Leslie, Case Stated between the Churches of England and Rome, § 25. Works, vol. iii. p. 87. Oxf. 1832.]

[l] [Paris; see note l, p. 23.]

which the Bishop of Chalcedon (a man that cannot be suspected of partiality on our side) hath affirmed and published in two of his books to the world in print [m], that "*Protestantibus credentibus*, &c."—'persons living in the communion of
47 the Protestant Church, if they endeavour to learn the truth, and are not able to attain unto it, but hold it implicitly in the preparation of their minds, and are ready to receive it when God shall be pleased to reveal it' (which all good Protestants and all good Christians are), 'they neither want Church, nor Faith, nor salvation.' Mark these words well. "They have neither Church, nor Faith," say you;—if they be thus qualified (as they all are), they 'neither want Church, nor Faith, nor Salvation,' saith he.

His intelligence as good in Heaven as upon earth. [p. 14.]

Lastly, Sir, to let us see, that your intelligence is as good in Heaven as it is upon earth, and that you know both who are there, and what they do, you tell us, that the crown and conquest, which his late Majesty gained by his sufferings, was procured by the intercession of his grandmother Queen Mary. We should be the apter to believe this, if you were able to make it appear, that all the Saints in Heaven do know all the particular necessities of all their posterity upon earth. St. Austin makes the matter much more doubtful than you,—that's the least of his assertion,—or rather to be plainly false; "*Fatendum est nescire quidem mortuos quid hic agatur*[n]." But with presumptions you did begin your Dedication, and with presumptions you end it. In the mean time, till you can make that appear,—we observe, that neither Queen Mary's constancy in the Roman Catholic Faith, nor Henry the Fourth's change to the Roman Catholic Faith, could save them from a bloody end. Then by what warrant do you impute King Charles his sufferings to his error in religion? Be your own judge.

No Faith sufficient armour against bloody attempts.

'*Heu quantâ de spe decidimus*'—'alas! from what hopes are we fallen[o]!' Pardon our error, that we have mistaken you so long. You have heretofore pretended yourself to be a

The Author much fallen [in the latter end of his treatise] from his former

[m] [See the Vindication of the Church of England, c. 6. (Works, p. 100. fol. edit.), Discourse ii. Part i.]

[n] August. De Curâ pro Mortuis. c. 15. [tom. vi. p. 527. E; who adds however, "... sed dum hic agitur; postea vero audire ab eis, qui hinc ad eos morieudo pergunt; non quidem omnia, sed quæ sinuntur indicare ..., et quæ ... audire oportet."]

[o] [Terent. Heautont. ii. 3. 9.]

PART 1.

moderate person, and one that seriously endeavoured the re-uniting of Christendom by a fair accommodation. The widest wounds are closed up in time, and strange plants by inoculation are incorporated together and made one; and is there no way to close up the wounds of the Church, and to unite the disagreeing members of the same mystical Body? Why were Caleb amd Joshua only admitted into the land of promise, whilst the carcases of the rest perished in the wilderness, but only because they had been peacemakers in a time of schism? Well fare our learned and ingenuous countryman S. Clara[p], who is altogether as perspicacious as yourself, but much more charitable. You tell us to our grief, that 'there is no accommodation to be expected; that Cardinal Richelieu was too good a Christian, and too good a Catholic, to have any such thought; that the one religion is true, the other false, and that there is no society between light and darkness[q].' This is plain dealing, to tell us what we must trust to. No peace is to be expected from you, unless we will come unto you upon our knees with the words of the Prodigal Child in our mouths,—'Father forgive us, we have sinned against Heaven, and against thee.' Is not this rare courtesy? If we will submit to your will in all things, you will have no longer difference with us. So we might come to shake a worse Church by the hand, than that which we were separated from.

charity in seeking the re-union of Christendom.

[Numb. xiv. 28,30.]

[Luke xv. 21.]

The way to a general accommodation.

If you could be contented to wave your last four hundred years' determinations; or, if you liked them for yourselves, yet not to obtrude them upon other Churches; if you could rest satisfied with your old Patriarchal power, and your '*principium unitatis*,' or primacy of order[r], much good might be expected from free Councils, and conferences from moderate persons; and we might yet live in hope to see an union, if not in all opinions, yet in charity and all necessary points of saving truth, between all Christians; to see the Eastern and Western Churches join hand in hand, and sing —"*Ecce quàm bonum et quàm jucundum est habitare fratres*

[p] ["Ego . . omnino judico, multos" (e Protestantibus in Anglia) "ab omni culpa prorsus immunes, &c. &c. . . . ipsos posse salvari; et pie spero sic actu multos salvos." S. Clara, "Deus, Natura, Gratia &c." Probl. xv. p. 121. Lugd. 1635.]

[q] p. 204. [Discourse upon Transubstantiation in the "Vict. de la Vér."]

[r] [See note m, p. 32.]

in unum"—"Behold how good and pleasant a thing it is for brethren to dwell together in unity." But whilst you impose upon us daily new articles of Faith, and urge rigidly what you have unadvisedly determined; we dare not sacrifice truth to peace, nor be separated from the Gospel, to be joined to the Roman Church. Yet, in the point of our separation, and in all things which concern either doctrine or discipline, we profess all due obedience and submission to the judgment and definitions of the truly Catholic Church; lamenting with all our hearts the present condition of Christendom, which renders an Œcumenical Council, if not impossible (men's judgments may be had, where their persons cannot), yet very difficult; wishing one, as general as might be; and (until God
43 send such an opportunity) endeavouring to conform ourselves in all things, both in *credendis et agendis*, to whatsoever is uniform in the belief or practice, in the doctrine or discipline, of the Universal Church; and, lastly, holding an actual communion with all the divided parts of the Christian world in most things, *et in voto*—according to our desires—in all things.

[Ps. cxxxiii. 1.]

DISCOURSE II.

A

JUST VINDICATION

OF THE

CHURCH OF ENGLAND

FROM THE

UNJUST ASPERSION OF CRIMINAL SCHISM.

WHEREIN THE NATURE OF CRIMINAL SCHISM,
THE DIVERS SORTS OF SCHISMATICS,
THE LIBERTIES AND PRIVILEGES OF NATIONAL CHURCHES,
THE RIGHTS OF SOVEREIGN MAGISTRATES,
THE TYRANNY, EXTORTION, AND SCHISM OF THE ROMAN COURT
WITH THE GRIEVANCES, COMPLAINTS, AND OPPOSITION,
OF ALL PRINCES AND STATES OF THE ROMAN COMMUNION, OF O·
AND AT THIS VERY DAY, ARE MANIFESTED TO
THE VIEW OF THE WORLD.

BY THE RIGHT REVEREND FATHER IN GOD

JOHN BRAMHALL,

DOCTOR IN DIVINITY, AND LORD BISHOP OF DERRY.

"My name is CHRISTIAN, my surname is CATHOLIC: by the one I am known from infidels; by the other, from heretics and schismatics."

["Christianus mihi nomen est, Catholicus cognomen: illud me nuncupat, istud ostendit."]

Pacian. ad Sympronian. Epist. [I. De Cathol. nomine, ap. Biblioth. Patr., tom. iv. p. 236. A.B., as quoted and translated by Field (Of the Church, bk. ii. c. 9.) from Bellarm. (De Eccles. Milit., lib. iv. c. 4.]

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[viz. I. To state the question, shewing

- What is schism in the abstract:
- Who are schismatics in the concrete;
- What we understand by the Church of England in this question. . . . . ib.

II. To lay down six grounds or propositions, each singly sufficient to wipe away the stain and guilt of schism from the Church of England:

1. That Protestants were not the authors of the late separation from Rome, but Roman Catholics.
2. That, in abandoning the Court of Rome they did not make any *new* law, but only restored the old law of the land to its former vigour.
3. That the ancient British, and Scottish or Irish, Churches are rightfully exempt from the patriarchal jurisdiction of the Roman Bishops.
4. That the king and Church of England had both sufficient authority and sufficient grounds to withdraw their obedience as they did.
5. That all the sovereign princes and republics in Europe of the Roman communion do either practise, or plead for, the same right, or both.
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DISCOURSE II.

A JUST VINDICATION

OF THE

CHURCH OF ENGLAND.

[First printed at London, A. D. 1654.]

CHAP. I.

THE SCOPE AND SUM OF THIS TREATISE.

Nothing more probably objected to the Church of England than schism.

Nothing hath been hitherto or can hereafter be objected to the Church of England, which, to strangers unacquainted with the state of our affairs, or to such of our natives as have only looked upon the case superficially, hath more colour of truth, at first sight, than that of schism; that we have withdrawn our obedience from the vicar of Christ, or, at least, from our lawful Patriarch, and separated ourselves from the communion of the Catholic Church:—a grievous accusation, I confess, if it were true; for we acknowledge that there is no salvation to be expected ordinarily without the pale of the Church.

But nothing more unjustly.

But, when all things are judiciously weighed in the balance of right reason; when it shall appear that we never had any such foreign Patriarch for the first six hundred years and upwards, and that it was a gross violation of the canons of the Catholic Church, to attempt after that time to obtrude any foreign jurisdiction upon us; that, before the Bishops of Rome ever exercised any jurisdiction in Britain, they had quitted their lawful Patriarchate, wherewith they were invested by the authority of the Church, for an unlawful monarchy pretended to belong unto them by the institution of Christ; that whatsoever the Popes of Rome gained upon us in after ages, without our own free consent, was mere tyranny and usurpation; that our Kings with their Synods

PART I.

and Parliaments had power to revoke, retract, and abrogate, whatsoever they found by experience to become burdensome and insupportable to their subjects; that they did use in all ages, with the consent of the Church and Kingdom of England, to limit and restrain the exercise of Papal power, and to provide remedies against the daily encroachments of the Roman Court, so as Henry the Eighth, at the Reformation of the English Church, did but tread in the steps of his most renowned ancestors, who flourished whilst Popery was in its zenith, and pursued but that way which they had chalked out unto him, a way warranted by the practice of the most Christian emperors of old, and frequented at this day by 54
the greatest, or rather by all the princes of the Roman communion, so often as they find occasion; when it shall be made evident, that the Bishops of Rome never enjoyed any quiet or settled possession of that power which was after deservedly cast out of England, so as to beget a lawful prescription; and, lastly, that we have not at all separated ourselves from the communion of the Catholic Church, nor of any part thereof, Roman or other, *qua tales*—as they are such, but only in their innovations, wherein they have separated themselves first from their common Mother and from the fellowship of their own Sisters: I say, when all this shall be cleared, and the schism is brought home and laid at the right door, then we may safely conclude, that by how much we should turn more Roman than we are (whilst things continue in the same condition), by so much we should render ourselves less Catholic, and plunge ourselves deeper into schism whilst we seek to avoid it.

The method observed in this Discourse.

For the clearer and fuller discussion and demonstration whereof, I shall observe this method in the ensuing Discourse.

I. First [a], to state the question; and shew, what is schism in the abstract, who are schismatics in the concrete, and what we understand by the Church of England in this question.

II. Secondly, I will lay down six grounds or propositions, every one of which singly is sufficient to wipe away the stain and guilt of schism from the Church of England; how much more when they are all joined together? My six grounds or

[a] [Chap. ii.]

propositions are these. First[b], that Protestants were not the authors of the late great separation from Rome, but Roman Catholics themselves, such as in all other points were chief advocates and pillars of the Roman Church, and so many, that the names of all the known dissenters might be written in a little ring. Secondly[c], that, in abandoning the Court of Rome, they did not make any new law, but only declare and restore the old law of the land to its former vigour, and vindicate that liberty left them as an inheritance by their ancestors, from the encroachments and usurpations of the Court of Rome. Thirdly[d], that the ancient British, and Scottish or Irish, Churches were ever exempted from the patriarchal jurisdiction of the Roman Bishops, until Rome, thirsting after an universal unlawful monarchy, quitted their [her?] lawful ecclesiastical power; and so ought to continue free and exempted from all foreign jurisdiction of any pretended Patriarch for evermore, according to the famous canon of the general Council of Ephesus, which Gregory the Great reverenced as one of the four Gospels[e]. Fourthly[f], that though the authors of that separation had not themselves been Roman Catholics; and though the acts or statutes made for that end had not been merely declarative, but also operative; and although Britain had not been from the beginning, both *de jure* and *de facto*, exempted from Roman jurisdiction; yet the King and Church of England had both sufficient authority, and sufficient grounds, to withdraw their obedience as they did. Fifthly[g], that all the sovereign princes and republics in Europe of the Roman communion, whensoever they have occasion to reduce the Pope to reason, do either practise, or plead for, the same right, or both. Sixthly[h], that the Papacy itself (*qua talis*), as it is now maintained by many, with universality of jurisdiction, or rather sole jurisdiction, *jure Divino*, with superiority above general Councils, with infallibility of judgment, and temporal power over princes, is become by its rigid censures, and new Creeds, and exorbitant decrees, in a great part actually, and altogether causally, guilty both of this and all the greater schisms in Christendom.

DISCOURSE II.

[b] [Chap. iii.]
[c] [Chap. iv.]
[d] [Chap. v.]
[e] [Greg. M. Epist., lib. i. Ep. 25; lib. iii. Ep. 10. Op. tom. ii. pp. 515. B. 632. E.]
[f] [Chap. vi.]
[g] [Chap. vii.]
[h] [Chap. viii.]

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III. Lastly[i], I will give a satisfactory answer to those objections, which those of the Roman communion do bring against us to prove us schismatics.

CHAP. II. 55

THE STATING OF THE QUESTION:—WHAT IS SCHISM; WHO ARE SCHISMATICS; AND WHAT IS SIGNIFIED BY THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND IN THIS QUESTION.

Every passionate heat not schism.

EVERY sudden passionate heat or misunderstanding or shaking of charity amongst Christians, though it were even between the principal pastors of the Church, is not presently schism. As that between St. Paul and Barnabas in the Acts of the Apostles,—who dare say that either of them were schismatics? or that between St. Hierome and Ruffinus, who charged one another mutually with heresy[j]; or that between St. Chrysostom and Epiphanius, who refused to join in prayers; St. Chrysostom wishing that Epiphanius might never return home alive, and Epiphanius wishing that St. Chrysostom might not die a Bishop[k]; both which things, by the just disposition of Almighty God, fell out according to the passionate and uncharitable desires of these holy persons; who had Christian charity still radicated in their hearts, though the violent torrent of sudden passion did for the time bear down all other respects before it. These were but personal heats, which reflected not upon the public body of the Church; to which they were all ever ready to submit, and in which none of them did ever attempt to make a party by gathering disciples to himself. Such a passionate heat is aptly styled by the Holy Ghost "παροξυσμός"—"a paroxysm," or a sharp fit of a feverish distemper, which a little time without any other application will infallibly remedy.

[Acts xv. 39.]

Acts xv. 39. ["Contention." Eng. Vers.]

Ecclesiastical quarrels of long continuance not always schism.

Secondly, every premeditated clashing of Bishops or Churches, about points of doctrine or discipline, long and

[i] [Chap. ix.]

[j] [Not to mention St. Jerome's three books of "Apology" against Ruffinus' two books of "Invectives" (Op. S. Hieron. tom. iv. P. ii. pp. 350, sq.), see St. Augustin's lxxiiird. Epistle, Ad Hieron., § 6—8. tom. ii. pp. 165, 166.]

[k] [Socrates (Hist. Eccles., lib. vi. c. 14.) mentions the story, but rather doubtfully.]

resolutely maintained, is not presently criminous schism; so long as they forbear to censure and condemn one another and to expel one another from their communion, and are ready to submit to the determinations of a general Council. Such were the contentions of the Roman and African Bishops about rebaptization and appeals[1]. It were hard to say, that those two blessed Saints, Cyprian and Austin, and all those pious prelates who joined with them, lived and died schismatics.

With this general truth agrees that of Doctor Holden[m] fully, that 'when there is a mutual division of two parts or members of the mystical Body of the Church, one from the other, yet both retain communion with the universal Church (which for the most part springs from some doubtful opinion, or less necessary part of Divine worship), *quamcunque partem amplexus fueris, schismaticus non audies, quippe quod universa Ecclesia neutram damnârit*—whatsoever part one take, he is no schismatic, because the universal Church hath condemned neither part.' Whether he hold himself to this principle, or desert it, it is not my purpose here to discuss.

But this is much sounder doctrine than that of Mr. Knott[n], that 'the parts of the Church cannot be divided one from another except they be divided from the whole, because those things, which are united to one third, are united also between themselves:' which error he would seem to have sucked from Doctor Potter[o], whom he either would not or at least did not understand;—that "whosoever professeth himself to forsake the communion of any one member of the Body of Christ, must confess himself consequently to forsake the whole:" of which he makes this use;—that Protestants forsake the communion of the Church of Rome; and yet do confess it to be a member of the Body of Christ; therefore they for-

[1] [Concerning the rebaptization of heretics, between St. Cyprian, with the African Bishops, and Stephen, A. D. 255, 256;—concerning appeals to Rome, between St. Augustin, with the African Bishops, and the Popes Zosimus, Boniface I., and Celestine I., A.D. 418—422, upon the question of restoring the priest Apiarius: Fleury, Hist. Eccles., liv. vii. and xxiv.]

[m] Hen. Holden, Append. [ad Lib. De Resolut. Fidei,] De Schism., Art. 1. pp. 483, 484. [Paris. 1652.]

[n] "Infidelity Unmasked," [c. 7.] sect. 176. p. 591. [Gant. 1652.]

[o] Idem, [c. 7. sect. 34.] p. 516; [from Dr. Potter's Answer to "Charity Mistaken" (a former work by Knott), sect. 3. p. 76.]

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sake the communion of the whole Church. The answer is easy,—that whosoever doth separate himself from any part of the Catholic Church as it is a part of the Catholic Church, doth separate himself from every part of the Catholic Church, and consequently from the universal Church, which hath no existence but in its parts. But if one part of the universal Church do separate itself from another part, not absolutely, or in essentials, but respectively, in abuses and innovations; not as it is a part of the universal Church, but only so far as it is corrupted and degenerated; it doth still retain a communion, not only with the Catholic Church and with all 56 orthodox members of the Catholic Church, but even with that corrupted Church from which it is separated, except only in corruptions. We may well enlarge the former ground:—that if two particular Churches shall separate themselves one from another; and the one retain a communion with the universal Church, and be ready to submit to the determinations thereof; and the other renounce the communion of the universal Church, and contumaciously despise the jurisdiction and the decrees thereof; the former continues Catholic, and the latter becomes schismatical. To shew that this is our present condition with the Church of Rome, is in part the scope of this treatise. They have subjected Œcumenical Councils, which are the sovereign tribunals of the Church, to the jurisdiction of the Papal Court. And we are most ready in all our differences to stand to the judgment of the truly Catholic Church, and its lawful representative a free general Council. But we are not willing to have their 'virtual Church,' that is, the Court of Rome, obtruded upon us for the Catholic Church, nor a partial synod of Italians for a free general Council.

The separators may be free from schism, and the other party guilty.

Thirdly, there may be an actual and criminous separation of Churches which formerly did join in one and the same communion; and yet the separators be innocent, and the persons from whom the separation is made be nocent and guilty of schism, because they gave just cause of separation from them. It is not the separation, but the cause, that makes the schism. St. Paul himself made such a separation among his disciples: and Timothy is expressly commanded, that "if any man did teach otherwise, and consented not to wholesome words, even to the words of our Lord Jesus Christ, and

Acts xix. 9.

1 Tim. vi. 3—5.

to the doctrine which is according to godliness, ἀφίστασο ἀπὸ τῶν τοιούτων—withdraw thyself—stand aloof—or separate thyself, from such persons." It is true, that they who first desert and forsake the communion of their Christian brethren, are schismatics; but there is a moral defection as well as [a] local; it is no schism to forsake them, who have first themselves forsaken the common Faith: wherein we have the confession of our adversaries;—"They who first separated themselves from the primitive pure Church and brought in corruptions in Faith, practice, Liturgy, and use of Sacraments, may truly be said to have been heretics, by departing from the pure Faith; and schismatics, by dividing themselves from the external communion of the true uncorrupted Church[p]." It is no schism to separate from heretics and schismatics in their heresy and schism. This is all the crime which they can object to us. The Court of Rome would have obtruded upon us new articles of Faith; we have rejected them: they introduced unlawful rites into the Liturgies of the Church and use of the Sacraments; we have reformed them for ourselves: they went about to violate the just liberties and privileges of our Church; we have vindicated them. And for so doing they have by their censures and Bulls separated us and chased us from their communion. Where lies the schism?

Discourse II.

To withdraw obedience is not always criminous schism.

Fourthly, to withdraw obedience from a particular Church, or from a lawful superior, is not always criminous schism. Particular Churches may sometimes err, and sometimes clash with the universal Church. Patriarchs and other subordinate superiors may err, and sometimes abuse their authority, sometimes forfeit their authority, sometimes disclaim their authority, or usurp more authority than is due unto them by the canons. They would persuade us, that 'obedience is to be yielded to a Church determining errors in points not fundamental[q].' But they confound obedience of acquiescence with obedience of conformity. They forget willingly that we acknowledge not that they ever had any lawful authority over us: '*par in parem non habet potestatem*'—'equals have no jurisdiction over their equals.' The only difficulty is, that

[p] Infidelity Unmasked, ch. 7. sect. 112. p. 534.

[q] Id. [ch. 7. sect. 41.] p. 482.

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this seems to make inferiors judges of their superiors, the flock of their pastor, the clergy of their Bishop, the Bishop of his Metropolitan, the Metropolitan of his Patriarch; whereas in truth it only gives them a 'judgment of discretion[r],' and makes them not to be judges of their superiors, but only to be their own judges '*salvo moderamine* inculpatæ *tutelæ*,' to preserve themselves from sin or heresy obtruded upon them under the specious pretences of obedience and charity. This is not *deficere*, but *prospicere;* not to renounce due obedience to their lawful superiors, but to provide for their own safety.

Some things are so evident, that the judgment of the 57
Church or a superior is not needful. Some things have been already judged and defined by the Church, and need no new determination. If a superior presume to determine contrary to the determination of the Church, it is not rebellion, but loyalty, to disobey him.

When Eunomius the Arian was made Bishop, 'not one of his flock, rich or poor, young or old, man or woman,' would communicate with him in the public service of God, but left him to officiate alone[s]. When Nestorius did first publish his heresy in the church in these words, "If any man call the Virgin Mary the Mother of God, let him be accursed," the people made a noise, ran out of the church, and refused ever after to communicate with him[t]. Valentinian the Emperor shunned the communion of Sixtus the Third[u]. Many of the Roman clergy withdrew themselves from the communion of Anastasius their Bishop, because he had communicated with the Acacians[x]. Rusticus and Sebastianus, two of the Pope's chiefest deacons, did not only themselves forbear the communion of Vigilius, but drew with them a good part of the Church of Rome and other Occidental Churches[y].

It cannot be denied, but that among many examples of this

[r] [See the Answer to La Milletière, p. 49. Discourse i. Part I.]

[s] Theodor. [Hist. Eccles.] lib. iv. c. 15. [Eunomius was made Bp. of Samosata upon the expulsion of the orthodox Bishop, Eusebius, A. D. 370.]

[t] Cyril. Epist. ad Cœlestinum, Ep. 9. [p. 37. D. E. tom. v. P. ii. Paris. 1638. —The words in question were uttered aloud in the church during service, not however by Nestorius himself, but in his presence by one Dorotheus, a Bishop who held the same opinions with him.]

[u] [Processus Sixti III. in Act. Concil. Roman. A. D. 433. cap. 4. ap. Labb.] Concil. tom. ii. [p. 1267.]

[x] Lib. Roman. Pontif. in [Vitâ] Anastas. [II. A. D. 496.]

[y] [Baron. Annal. tom. vii. an. 548. 550.]—Libell. Maurit. [Imperatoris ad Gregor. I. Papam.] ap. Baron. Annal. tom. viii. an. 590. num. 28.

kind some are reprehensible, not because they did arrogate to themselves a liberty which they had not, but because they abused that liberty which they had, either by mistaking the matter of fact, or by presuming too much upon their own judgments. To prevent which inconveniencies, the eighth Synod decreed, not by way of censure but of caution, as a preservative from such abuses for the future, that "no clerk, before diligent examination and synodical sentence, should separate himself from the communion of his proper Bishop, no Bishop of his Metropolitan, no Metropolitan of his Patriarch[z]."

What is single [i. e. mere] schism.

Then what is schism? Schism signifies a criminous scissure, rent, or division in the Church, an ecclesiastical sedition, like to a mutiny in an army or a faction in a state. Therefore such ruptures are called by the Apostle indifferently σχίσματα or διχοστασίαι, schisms, or seditious segregations of an aggregate body into two opposite parties. And there seems to me to be the same difference between heresy, properly so called, and schism, which is between an inward sickness and an outward wound or ulcer. Heresy floweth from the corruption of Faith within; schism is an exterior breach, or a solution of continuity, in the body ecclesiastic. Consider then by what nerves and ligaments the body of the Church is united and knit together, and by so many manner of ruptures it may be schismatically rent or divided asunder.

1 Cor. i. 10. 1 Cor. iii. 3.

The communion of the Christian Catholic Church is partly internal, partly external.

Wherein internal communion doth consist.

The internal communion consists principally in these things: to believe the same entire substance of saving necessary truth revealed by the Apostles, and to be ready implicitly in the preparation of the mind to embrace all other supernatural verities when they shall be sufficiently proposed to them; to judge charitably one of another; to exclude none from the Catholic communion and hope of salvation, either eastern, or western, or southern, or northern Christians, which profess the ancient Faith of the Apostles and primitive Fathers, established in the first general Councils, and comprehended in the Apostolic, Nicene, and Athanasian Creeds; to rejoice at their well doing; to sorrow for their sins; to

[z] Synod. [Œcumenic.] viii. [scil. Constantinop. iv. A. D. 870.] can. 10. [in titulo; ap. Labb. Concil. tom. viii. p. 1132.]

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condole with them in their sufferings; to pray for their constant perseverance in the true Christian Faith, for their reduction from all their respective errors, and their re-union to the Church in case they be divided from it, that we may be all one sheepfold under that One Great "Shepherd and Bishop of our souls;" and, lastly, to hold an actual external communion with them '*in votis*'—in our desires, and to endeavour it by all those means which are in our power. This internal communion is of absolute necessity among all Catholics.

[1 Pet. ii. 25.]

Wherein external communion doth consist.

External communion consists, first, in the same Creeds or Symbols or Confessions of Faith, which are the ancient badges or cognizances of Christianity; secondly, in the participation of the same Sacraments; thirdly, in the same external worship, and frequent use of the same Divine Offices or Liturgies or forms of serving God; fourthly, in the use of the same public rites and ceremonies; fifthly, in giving communicatory letters from one Church or one person to another; and, lastly, in admission of the same discipline, and subjection to the same supreme ecclesiastical authority, that is, Episcopacy, or a general Council: for as single Bishops are the Heads of particular Churches, so Episcopacy, that is, a general Council, or Œcumenical assembly of Bishops, is the Head of the universal Church [a].

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[Internal communion may not,] external communion may be suspended;

Internal communion is due always from all Christians to all Christians, even to those with whom we cannot communicate externally in many things, whether *credenda* or *agenda*—opinions or practices. But external actual communion may sometimes be suspended more or less by the just censures of the Church, '*clave non errante.*' As in the primitive times some were excluded '*à cœtu participantium*'—only from the use of the Sacraments; others moreover '*à cœtu procumbentium*'—both from Sacraments and Prayers; others also '*à cœtu audientium*'—from Sacraments, Prayers, and Sermons; and, lastly,

and withdrawn.

some '*à cœtu fidelium*'—from the society of Christians [b]. And as external communion may be suspended, so likewise it may sometimes be waved or withdrawn by particular Churches or persons from their neighbour Churches or Christians in their

[a] [Compare Bingham's Orig. Eccles., bk. xvi. c. 1.]

[b] [Compare Bingham's Orig. Eccles., bk. xvi. c. 2. § 7; bk. xviii. c. 1.]

innovations and errors: especially when they go about to obtrude new fancies upon others for fundamental truths and old articles of Faith. Christian charity is not blind, so as not to distinguish the integral and essential parts of the body from superfluous wens and excrescences. The canons do not oblige Christians to the arbitrary dictates of a Patriarch, or to suck in all his errors; like those servile flatterers of Dionysius the Sicilian tyrant, who licked up his very spittle and protested it was more sweet than nectar[e].

There is not the like necessity of communicating in all externals.

Neither is there the like degree of obligation to an exact communion in all externals. There is not so great conformity to be expected in ceremonies, as in the essentials of Sacraments (the 'Queen's Daughter was arrayed in a garment wrought about with divers colours'); nor in all Sacraments improperly and largely so called by some persons at some times, as in Baptism and the Holy Eucharist, which by the consent of all parties are more general, more necessary, more principal Sacraments. Neither is so exact an harmony and agreement necessary in all the explications of articles of Faith, as in the articles themselves; nor in superstructions, as in fundamentals; nor in scholastical opinions, as in catechetical grounds: nor so strict and perpetual an adherence required to a particular Church, as to the universal Church; nor to an ecclesiastical constitution, as to a Divine ordinance, or Apostolical tradition. Human privileges may be lost by disuse, or by abuse; and that which was advisedly established by human authority, may by the same authority upon sufficient grounds and mature deliberation be more advisedly abrogated. As the limits and distinctions of provinces and Patriarchates were at first introduced to comply with the civil government, according to the distribution of the provinces of the Roman Empire, for the preservation of peace and unity, and for the ease and benefit of Christians, so they have been often, and may now be, changed by sovereign and synodical authority, according to the change of the Empire, for the peace and benefit of Christendom.

[Ps. xlv. 10. Prayer-book Vers.]

Christian communion implies not unity in all opinions;

Neither the rules of prudence nor the laws of piety do oblige particular Churches or Christians to communicate in all opinions and practices with those particular Churches or

[e] [Athen., Deipnos., vi. 13.]

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Christians with whom they hold Catholic communion. The Roman and African Churches held good communion one with another, whilst they differed both in judgment and practice about rebaptization. Cannot one hold communion with the Fathers that were Chiliasts, except he turn Millenary? The British Churches were never judged schismatical, because they differed from the rest of the West about the observation of Easter. We see that all the famous and principal Churches of the Christian world, Grecian, Roman, Protestant, Armenian, Abissene, have their peculiar differences one with another, and each of them among themselves. And though I am far from believing, that, when logomachies are taken away, their real dissensions are half so numerous, or their errors half so foul, as they are painted out by their adversaries (emulation was never equal judge); and though I hope 59 Christ will say "Come ye blessed" to many, whom fiery zealots are ready to turn away with "Go ye cursed;" yet to hold communion with them all in all things is neither lawful nor possible.

[Matt. xxv. 34. 41.]

[but sometimes admits and even commands separation.]

Yea, if any particular Patriarch, Prelate, Church, or Churches, how eminent soever, shall endeavour to obtrude their own singularities upon others for Catholic verities, or shall enjoin sinful duties to their subjects, or shall violate the undoubted privileges of their inferiors contrary to the canons of the Fathers; it is very lawful for their own subjects to disobey them, and for strangers to separate from them. And if either the one or the other have been drawn to partake of their errors upon pretence of obedience or of Catholic communion, they may without the guilt of schism, nay they ought, to reform themselves, so as it be done by lawful authority, upon good grounds, with due moderation, without excess, or the violation of charity; and so as the separation from them be not total, but only in their errors and innovations; nor perpetual, but only during their distempers:—as a man might leave his father's or his brother's house, being infected with the plague, with a purpose to return thither again so soon as it was cleansed. This is no more than what Gerson hath taught us in sundry places:—'It is lawful by the law of nature to resist the injury and violence of a Pope[d];'

[d] Regulæ Morales, tit. De Præcept. Decalog. [Op. P. ii. fol. 131. Paris. 1521.]

and, "if any one should convert his Papal dignity to be an instrument of wickedness to the destruction of any part of the Church in temporalities or spiritualities, and if there appears no other remedy but by withdrawing oneself from the obedience of such a raging power, ... until the Church or a Council shall provide otherwise; it is lawful [e]." He adds farther, that 'it is lawful to slight his sentences,' yea, "to tear them in pieces, and throw them at his head [f]."

Bellarmine in effect saith as much;—"As it is lawful to resist the Pope, if he should invade our bodies; so it is lawful to resist him invading of souls, or troubling the commonwealth; and much more if he should endeavour to destroy the Church; I say it is lawful to resist him by not doing that which he commands and by hindering him from putting his will in execution [g]." We ask no more. The Pope invaded our souls by exacting new oaths and obtruding new articles of Faith; he troubled the commonwealth with his extortions and usurpations; he destroyed the Church by his provisions, reservations, exemptions, &c. We did not judge him, or punish him, or depose him, or exercise any jurisdiction over him; but only defended ourselves, by guarding his blows and repelling his injuries.

I may not here forget St. Ignatius the Patriarch of Constantinople, whom Pope John the Eighth excommunicated for detaining the jurisdiction of Bulgaria from the See of Rome; but he disobeyed the Pope's censures, as did also his successors, and yet was reputed a Saint after his death: whom Baronius excuseth in this manner,—"*Neque est ut quis ob litem hanc*, &c."—"let no man think that for this controversy Ignatius was either disaffected to the Roman See, or ungrateful, seeing he did but defend the rights of his own Church, to which he was bound by oath under pain of eternal damnation [h]." If it be not only lawful but necessary (in the judgment of Baronius), yea, necessary under the pain of damnation, for every Bishop to defend the rights of his particular See against the encroachments and usurpations of the Roman

[e] Lib. de Auferibilitate Papæ, Consider. 14. [Op. P. i. fol. 35.]

[f] De Unit. Eccles., Consider. 10. [Op. P. i. fol. 38.—"Possunt occurrere casus, in quibus ... liceret, &c."]

[g] De Roman. Pontif. lib. ii. c. 29. [Op. tom. i. p. 820. A.]

[h] Baron. Annal. tom. x. an. 878. num. 42.

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Bishop, and to contemn his censures in that case as invalid; how much more is it lawful, yea, necessary, for all the Bishops in the world to maintain the right of their whole Order, and of Episcopacy itself, against the oppressions of the Court of Rome, which would swallow up, or rather hath swallowed up, all original jurisdiction and the whole power of the Keys.

From this doctrine Dr. Holden doth not dissent; "*Non tamen is ego sum*, &c."—"yet I am not he who dare affirm, that diseases and bad manners and humours may not sometimes be mingled in any society or body whatsoever; yea, I confess that such kinds of faults are sometimes to be plucked up by the roots, and the over-luxurious branches to be pruned away with the hook[i]." It is true, he would not have this reformation in essential articles[k]; we offered not to touch them: nor without the consent of lawful superiors[k]; we had the free and deliberate consent of all our superiors both civil and ecclesiastical. A little after he adds, "I confess also, that particular and as it were private abuses, which have only infected some certain persons ... or Church, whether Episcopal or Archiepiscopal or ... national, may be taken away by the care and diligence of that particular congregation[l];" we attempted no more.

The sorts of [mere] schism.

We see then what mere schism is; a culpable rupture or breach of the Catholic communion, a loosing of the band of peace, a violation of Christian charity, a dissolving of the unity and continuity of the Church: and how this crime may be committed inwardly;—by temerarious and uncharitable judgment, when a man thinks thus with himself, "Stand from me, for I am holier than thou;" by lack of a true Christian sympathy or fellow-feeling of the wants and sufferings of our Christian brethren; by not wishing and desiring the peace of Christendom and the reunion of the Catholic Church; by not contributing our prayers and endeavours for the speedy knitting together and consolidating of that broken bone: and outwardly;—by rejecting the true badges and cognizances of Christians, that is, the ancient Creeds; by separating a man's self without sufficient ground from other Christians in the participation of the same Sacraments, or in

[Isa. lxv. 5.]

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[i] Append. de Schismat. art. 4. p. 516.
[k] [Ibid. p. 517.]
[l] [Ibid. pp. 517, 518.]

the use of the same Divine Offices and Liturgies of the Church and public worship and service of Almighty God, or of the same common rites and ceremonies; by refusing to give communicatory letters to Catholic orthodox Christians; by not admitting the same discipline, and by denying or withdrawing our obedience unlawfully from lawful superiors, whether it be the Church universal or particular, essential or representative, or any single superior, either of Divine or human institution; by separating of themselves from the communion of the Catholic Church, as the Novatians, or by restraining the Catholic Church unto themselves, as the Donatists of old and the Romanists at this day. DISCOURSE II.

What the Catholic Church signifies.

What the Catholic Church signifies, was sufficiently debated between the Catholic Bishops and the schismatical Donatists at the Colloquy of Carthage; neither the Church of Rome in Europe nor the Church of Cartenna in Afric, with the several Churches of their respective communions, but the whole Church of Christ spread abroad throughout the whole world. "*Afrorum Christianorum Catholicorum hæc vox est*, &c."—"this is the voice of the African Catholic Christians, we are joined in communion with the whole Christian world; this is the Church which we have chosen to be maintained, &c.[m]"

Each member of the Catholic Church is Catholic inclusively.

Now, the Catholic Church being *totum homogeneum*, every particular Church and every particular person of this Catholic communion doth participate of the same name inclusively, so as to be justly called Catholic Churches and Catholic Christians; but not exclusively, to the prejudice or shutting out of other Churches or other persons. As the King of Spain styles himself and is styled by others the Catholic King, not as if he were an universal monarch, or that there were no other sovereign princes in the world but himself: so the Church of Rome is called a Catholic Church, and the Bishop of Rome a Catholic Bishop; and yet other Churches and other Bishops may be as Catholic, and more Catholic than they. I like the name of Catholic well, but the addition of Roman is in truth a diminution.

Schism is changeable.

Schism for the most part is changeable, and varies its

[m] [Gesta] Collat. Carthag., Collat. Tert. [Diei, § 100, in Append. ad Optatum ed. Dupin, Paris. 1702, p. 302.]

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symptoms as the chameleon colours: as it was said of the schism of the Donatists, that "the passion of a disordered woman brought it forth, ambition nourished it, and covetousness confirmed it[n]." And therefore it is as hard a task to shape a coat for schismatics, as for the moon, which changeth its shape every day. The reason is, because, having once deserted the Catholic communion, they find no beaten path to walk in, but are like men running down a steep hill, that cannot stay themselves; or like sick persons, that toss and turn themselves continually from one side of their bed to the other, searching for that repose which they do not find.

And for the most part complicated with heretical pravity;

Hence it comes to pass, that schism is very rarely found for any long space of time without some mixture of heretical pravity, it being the use of schismatics to broach some new doctrine for the better justification of their separation from the Church. Heretical errors in point of Faith do easily produce a schism and separation of Christians one from another in the use of the Sacraments, and in the public service of God: as the Arian heresy produced a different doxology in the Church; the orthodox Christian saying, "Glory be to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Ghost;" and the heretical Arian, "Glory be to the Father, by the Son, in the Spirit[o]." So, of later times, the opinions of the lawfulness of detaining the Cup from the laity, and of the necessity of adoring the Sacrament, have by consequence excluded the Protestants from the participation of the Eucharist in the 61
Roman Church. Thus heresy doth naturally destroy unity and uniformity;—that is one symptom of schism.

[and violation of order.]

But it destroys order also, and the due subordination of a flock to their lawful pastor, nothing being more common with heretics than to contemn their old guides, and to choose to themselves new teachers of their own factions, and so 'erect an altar against an altar' in the Church;—that is another principal branch of schism. So a different faith commonly produceth a different discipline and different forms of worship.

Four ways to become heretical.

A man may render himself guilty of heretical pravity four ways. First, by disbelieving any fundamental article of Faith,

[n] [Optatus, De Schism. Donatist., lib. i. c. 19.]

[o] [Sozom., Hist. Eccles., lib. iii. c. 20.—Philostorg., Hist. Eccles., lib. iii. c. 13.]

or necessary part of saving truth, in that sense in which it was evermore received and believed by the universal Church. Secondly, by believing any superstitious errors or additions which do virtually by necessary and evident consequence subvert the Faith and overthrow a fundamental truth. Thirdly, by maintaining lesser errors obstinately after sufficient conviction. But, because that consequence which seems clear and necessary to one man, may seem weak and obscure to another; and because we cannot penetrate into the hearts of men, to judge whether they be obstinate, or do implicitly and in the preparation of their minds believe the truth; it is good to be sparing and reserved in censuring heretics for obstinacy. Fourthly, by maintaining lesser errors with frowardness and opposition to lawful determinations. Though it be not in the power of any Council, or of all the Councils in the world, to make that truth fundamental which was not fundamental; or to make that proposition heretical in itself, which was not heretical ever from the days of the Apostles; or to increase the necessary articles of the Christian Faith either in number or substance; yet, when inferior questions not fundamental are once defined by a lawful general Council, all Christians, though they cannot assent in their judgments, are obliged to passive obedience, to possess their souls in patience. And they, who shall oppose the authority and disturb the peace of the Church, deserve to be punished as heretics.

Who are Catholics.

To sum up all that hath been said; whosoever doth preserve his obedience entire to the universal Church, and its representative a general Council, and to all his superiors in their due order, so far as by law he is obliged; who holds an internal communion with all Christians, and an external communion so far as he can with a good conscience; who approves no reformation but that which is made by lawful authority, upon sufficient grounds, with due moderation; who derives his Christianity by the uninterrupted line of Apostolical succession; who contents himself with his proper place in the ecclesiastical body; who disbelieves nothing contained in Holy Scripture, and if he hold any errors unwittingly and unwillingly, doth implicitly renounce them by his fuller and more firm adherence to that infallible rule;

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who believeth and practiseth all those *credenda* and *agenda*, which the universal Church spread over the face of the earth doth unanimously believe and practise as necessary to salvation, without condemning or censuring others of different judgment from himself in inferior questions, without obtruding his own opinions upon others as articles of Faith; who is implicitly prepared to believe and do all other speculative and practical truths, when they shall be revealed to him; and, in sum, '*qui sententiam diversæ opinionis vinculo non præponit unitatis*[p]'—'that prefers not a subtlety or an imaginary truth before the bond of peace;' he may securely say, "My name is Christian, my surname is Catholic[q]."

Who are schismatics.

From hence it appeareth plainly, by the rule of contraries, who are schismatics; whosoever doth uncharitably make ruptures in the mystical Body of Christ, or 'sets up altar against altar' in His Church, or withdraws his obedience from the Catholic Church, or its representative a general Council, or from any lawful superiors, without just grounds; whosoever doth limit the Catholic Church unto his own sect, excluding all the rest of the Christian world, by new doctrines, or erroneous censures, or tyrannical impositions; whosoever holds not internal communion with all Christians, and external also so far as they continue in a Catholic constitution; whosoever, not contenting himself with his due place in the Church, doth attempt to usurp an higher place, to the disorder and disturbance of the whole body; whosoever takes upon him to reform without just authority and good grounds; 62 and, lastly, whosoever doth wilfully break the line of Apostolical succession, which is the very nerves and sinews of ecclesiastical unity and communion, both with the present Church, and with the Catholic Symbolical Church of all successive ages; he is a schismatic (*quâ talis*), whether he be guilty of heretical pravity or not.

What is understood by the Church of England.

Now, having seen who are schismatics, for clearing the state of the question whether the Church of England be schismatical or not, it remaineth to shew in a word what we understand by the Church of England.

[p] August., Cont. Crescon., lib. ii. [The sentiment occurs in c. 39. (tom. ix. p. 430. B. C.), but not the words.]

[q] [Pacian., Ad Sympronian. Novatianum, as quoted in the motto of this Discourse.]

First, we understand not the English nation alone, but the English dominion, including the British, and Scottish or Irish, Christians: for Ireland was the right *Scotia major;* and that which is now called Scotland, was then inhabited by British and Irish under the name of Piets and Scots[r].

Secondly, though I make not the least doubt in the world, but that the Church of England before the Reformation and the Church of England after the Reformation are as much the same Church, as a garden, before it is weeded and after it is weeded, is the same garden; or a vine, before it be pruned and after it is pruned and freed from the luxuriant branches, is one and the same vine: yet, because the Roman Catholics do not object schism to the Popish Church of England, but to the reformed Church, therefore, in this question, by the Church of England we understand that Church, which was derived by lineal succession from the British, English, and Scottish Bishops, by mixed ordination, as it was legally established in the days of King Edward the Sixth, and flourished in the reigns of Queen Elizabeth, King James, and King Charles of blessed memory, and now groans under the heavy yoke of persecution; whether this Church be schismatical by reason of its secession and separation from the Church of Rome, and the supposed withdrawing of its obedience from the Patriarchal jurisdiction of the Roman Bishop. As for other aspersions of schism, of lesser moment, we shall meet with them in our answers to their objections.

CHAP. III.

THAT THE SEPARATION FROM ROME WAS NOT MADE BY PROTESTANTS, BUT BY ROMAN CATHOLICS THEMSELVES.

Roman Catholics first authors of the separation from Rome.

THIS being the state of the question, I proceed to examine the first ground or proposition: that the English Protestants were not the first authors of the separation, but principal Roman Catholics, great advocates in their days and pillars of the Roman Church. Whether the Act or statute of separation were operative or declarative, creating new right, or manifesting or restoring old right; whether the power of the

[r] [See Usher, De Primord. Britann. Eccles., cc. xv. xvi.]

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And this was not done secretly in a corner, but openly in the sight of the sun; disputed publicly and determined beforehand in both our Universities, which after long deliberation and much disputation, done with all diligence, zeal, and conscience, made this final resolution and profession: "*Tandem in hanc sententiam unanimiter* [*omnes*] *convenimus ac concordes fuimus, videlicet Romanum Episcopum majorem aliquam jurisdictionem non habere sibi à Deo collatam in Sacrâ Scripturâ in hoc regno Angliæ, quàm alium quemvis externum Episcopum*"—"That the Roman Bishop had no greater jurisdiction within the kingdom of England conferred upon him by God in Holy Scripture, than any other foreign Bishop[s]." After this the same was voted and decreed in our national Synods [t]; and lastly, after all this, received and 63
established in full Parliament, by the free consent of all the Orders of the kingdom, with the concurrence and approbation of four-and-twenty Bishops and nine-and-twenty Abbots, then and there present[u]. To pass by many other statutes, take

[s] [See Foxe,] Acts and Monum., [bk. viii. an. 1534. vol. ii. p. 281, for a translation, and Wilkins, Concil., tom. iii. pp. 771, 772, for the original Latin, of the decree of the Univ. of Cambridge.] —Regist. Epist. Univ. Oxon. [inter MSS. Bodl.] Ep. 210, [for the letter of Henry VIII. and the Acts of the Convocation of the Univ. of Oxford upon the subject; and Wilkins, Concil., pp. 775, 776, for the decree of that University (see Wood's Antiq. of the Univ. of Oxf., bk. i. in an. 1534). Bramhall's quotation is from the last, with the word between brackets omitted.]

[t] Sac. Syn. [Prov. Cant. et Ebor.] an. 1530 et 1532 [et Instrum. super Submiss. Cleri, an. 1532; wherein the regal supremacy was yielded. — Syn. Prov. Cant. et Ebor. an. 1534, wherein the Papal supremacy was rejected.—ap. Wilk., Concil., tom. iii. pp. 724. 744, &c., 754, 755. 769. 782. See Collier, Ch. Hist., Pt. ii. bk. i. vol. ii. pp. 62, &c. bk. ii. p. 94.]

[u] [These numbers seem to have been intended, the one as the total number of Bishops (there were really at that time and up to 1540 only twenty-one; Coke upon Littleton, 94. a.), the other as that of Abbots and Priors (Coke upon Littleton, 97. a.—Collier, Ch. Hist., Pt. ii. bk. ii. vol. ii. p. 164.), who were Lords of Parliament at the time; but the largest numbers of either class, mentioned by our Church historians as *actually present* at the passing of any of the Acts upon the subject, are only seven

the very words of one of the main Acts itself: 'That England is an empire,' and that 'the King, as Head of the body politic consisting of the spiritualty and temporalty, hath plenary power to render final justice for all matters, &c.[x]' First, England "*is*," that is, originally, not *shall be* by virtue of this Act. What is it? "an *empire*." If it be an empire, then the sovereigns thereof have the same privileges and prerogatives within their own dominions, which the old emperors had in theirs. If the King be 'Head of the body politic consisting of the spiritualty and temporalty;' then in England the King is the political Head of the clergy as well as of the laity. So he ought to be, and not he only, but all the sovereign princes throughout the world, by the very law of nature.

Romanists first gave the King the title of Head of the Church.

What becomes now of that grand exception against Protestants, for making their King the Head or sovereign governor (for these two are convertible terms) of the English Church or clergy? A title first introduced by Roman Catholics, and since waved and laid aside by Protestants, not so much for any malignity that was in it, as for the ill sound's sake; because it seemed to intrench too much upon the just right of our Saviour, and, being subject to be misunderstood, gave offence to many well-affected Christians[y]. And what doth this law say more than a great Cardinal said not long after? one that was as near the Papacy as any that ever missed it, and was thought to merit the Papacy as well as any that had it in his days; I mean Cardinal Pole in his book *De Concilio*[z]:—"*Hoc munus imperatoribus Christi fidem professis Deus Ipse Pater assignavit, ut Christi Filii Dei vicarias partes gerant*"—"God the Father hath assigned this office to Christian emperors, that they should act the part of Christ the Son of God" (in general Councils); and yet more fully in his answer to the next question[a], "*Pontifex Romanus ut caput sacerdotale vicarias Christi veri Capitis partes gerit, . . . at Cæsar ut caput regale*," &c.—"the Pope as a priestly Head doth execute the Office of Christ the true Head, but we may

of the former and twelve of the latter (Journ. of the H. of Lords, quoted by Collier, as above, p. 82).]

[x] 24 Hen. VIII. c. 12. ["For the Restraint of Appeals," § 1.]

[y] [See the Answer to La Millet. p. 29.]

[z] Respons. ad Quæst. 74. [p. 527. Lovan. 1567.]

[a] Respons. ad Quæst. 75. [ibid.]

PART I. also truly say, that the emperor doth execute the Office of Christ as a kingly Head;" and so he concludeth, "Christ [Matt. xxviii. 18.] said of Himself, all power is given Me both in Heaven and earth; *in utráque ergo potestate*, &c.—therefore we cannot doubt but Christ hath His deputies for both these powers;" the Pope in the Church, the emperor in the commonwealth. Thus writes the Pope's own legate to his brother legates in the Tridentine Council, when he desired to favour his master as much as he could.

But I proceed to our statute. The King of England '*hath*,' that is, already in present by the fundamental constitution of the monarchy, not *shall have* from henceforth; "*plenary power*," without the license, or help, or concurrence of any foreign prelate or potentate; "*plenary*," not *solitary*; 'to render *final* justice,' that is, to receive the last appeals of his own subjects without fear of any review from Rome, or at Rome; 'for *all* matters,' ecclesiastical and temporal, ecclesiastical by his Bishops, temporal by his judges. There is a great difference between a king's administering justice in ecclesiastical causes by himself, and by his Bishops. Listen to the canon of the Milevitan Council[b]: "It hath pleased the Synod, that what" (Bishop) "soever shall request of the emperor the cognizance of public judgment" (in some cases), "he be deprived of his honour; but if he petition to the emperor for Episcopal judgment" (that is, to make Bishops his deputies or commissioners to hear it), "it should not prejudice him." They forbid a Bishop of his own accord, in those days, and in some cases, to make his first address for justice to a secular magistrate: but they do not forbid him to appear before a secular magistrate being cited; and they allow him in all cases, though of pure ecclesiastical cognizance, to seek to a sovereign prince for an equal indifferent hearing by Bishops delegated and authorized by him.

The testimony of this statute is so clear and authentic in itself, that it need not be corroborated with any other Acts of
I. the same kind. Yet three things are urged against it. First, that Henry the Eighth at this time was a favourer of the
II. Protestants. Secondly, that he cared not for religion, but

[b] Concil. Milevitan. Secund. [A. D. 416.] Can. 19. [ap. Labb. Concil. tom. ii. p. 1542.]

64 looked only to the satisfaction of his own humours and lusts. Thirdly, that to withhold due obedience is as schismatical as to withdraw it; and that the reformed Church of England may be innocent of the one, and yet guilty and accessary to the other.

I. To the first exception I reply, That Henry the Eighth was so far, both then and long after, from being a friend or favourer of the Protestants, that he was a most bitter persecutor of them;—(after this the Pope himself, though he was not well pleased to lose so sweet a morsel as England was, so well approved of Henry the Eighth's rigorous proceedings against the Protestants, that he proposed him to the emperor as a pattern for his imitation[e];)—insomuch as some strangers in those days, coming into England, have admired to see one suffer for denying the Pope's supremacy, and another for being a Protestant, at the same time; so, though they looked divers ways, yet, like Samson's foxes, each had his firebrand at his tail. Henry VIII. no friend to the Protestants. [Judg. xv. 4.]

But, to clear this point home, there needs no more but to view the order of the statutes made concerning religion and ecclesiastical jurisdiction in the reign of that king.

The Act for no person to be cited out of his own diocese, except in certain cases[d]; the Act prohibiting all appeals out of England to the Court of Rome[e]; the Act for the submission of the clergy to the King[f]; the Act for payment of First-fruits to the Crown[g]; an Act for exoneration from all exactions of the Court of Rome[h]; the Act declaring the King to be supreme Head of the Church of England[i]; an Act against Popish Bulls, faculties, and dispensations[k]; and the Act for utterly extinguishing the usurped authority of the Roman Bishop[l];—were all, or the most of them, enacted before the eight-and-twentieth year of Henry the Eighth. And if my notes fail me not (for we are chased from our books), they were all received and established in Ireland the

[e] [A.D. 1539.] Hist. Concil. Trident. lib. i. [p. 69. Lond. 1620.]

[d] 23 Henry VIII. [c. 9.]

[e] 24 Henry VIII. [c. 12.]

[f] 25 Henry VIII. [c. 19.]

[g] 25 Henry VIII. [c. 20. "For the non-payment of First Fruits to the Bp. of Rome." The Act "for the First Fruits, with the yearly Pensions to the King," is 26 Henry VIII. c. 3.]

[h] 25 Henry VIII. [c. 21. "concerning Peter pence and Dispensations."]

[i] 26 Hen. VIII. [c. 1.]

[k] 28 Hen. VIII. [c. 16.]

[l] 28 Hen. VIII. [c. 10.]

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very same year, the Lord Gray being then Lord Deputy of Ireland[m]. All this while there were no thoughts of any reformation; all this while the Protestants found little grace from King Henry; nor indeed throughout his whole reign, ordinarily.

The Author's opinion of monasteries [and of the suppression of them by Henry VIII.];

As for the suppression of monasteries in his time, I shall deal clearly, and declare what I conceive to be the judgment of moderate English Protestants concerning that act.

First, we fear that covetousness had a great oar in the boat, and that sundry of the principal actors had a greater aim at the *goods* of the Church, than at the *good* of the Church: or otherwise, why did they not (as they pretended and gave out) preserve the spoils of the cloisters for public and charitable uses, as the foundation of hospitals, and freeing the commonwealth from a great part of its necessary charges? why did they not restore the appropriated (or, as we call them truly, *impropri*ated) tithes to the incumbents and lawful owners, who had actual cure of souls, from whom they had been unjustly withheld[n]? especially considering that in some parishes the poor vicar's stipend was not sufficient to maintain a good ploughman. The monks pretended that they had able members to discharge the cure of souls, and what difference whether the incumbent were a single person or an aggregated body; but what mere laymen could pretend is beyond my understanding.

Secondly, we examine not whether the abuses which were then brought to light were true or feigned; but this we believe, that foundations, which were good in their original institution, ought not to be destroyed for accessary abuses, or for the faults of particular persons. So we should neither leave a sun in heaven, for that hath been adored by Pagans; nor a spark of fire, or any eminent creature, how beneficial soever, upon earth, for they have all been abused. Therefore Lycurgus is justly condemned, because out of a hatred to

[m] [28 Hen. VIII. cc. 5, 6, 8, 13, 19, 26, in Sir Rich. Bolton's Irish Stat., Dubl. 1621.]

[n] Supplication of Beggars. [in Foxe, Acts and Monum., bk. viii. vol. ii. pp. 229, &c., which affirms that more than a third part of the realm was then (A. D. 1527) in ecclesiastical hands.]

drunkenness he cut down all the vines in Sparta, whereas he should have brought the fountains of water nearer[o].

Thirdly, when the clergy in a kingdom are really (and not upon the feigned pretences of sacrilegious persons), grown to that excessive grandeur, that they quite overbalance the laity, and leave the commonwealth neither sufficient men nor sufficient means to maintain itself; it is lawful by prudent laws
65 to restrain their further growth, as our ancestors and all the nations of Europe have done by prohibiting new foundations of Religious houses and the alienation of lands to the Church without special license; as we shall see hereafter[p]. And if the excess be so exorbitant, that it is absolutely and evidently destructive to the constitution of the commonwealth, it is lawful (upon some conditions and cautions not necessary to be here inserted) to prune the superfluous branches, and to reduce them to a right temper and equilibrium, for the preservation and well-being of the whole body politic. It hath been always held lawful in some cases to alienate some things, that had formerly been given to the Church; as for the redemption of Christian captives, for the sustenance of poor Christians, who are 'living temples,' in the days of [1 Pet. ii. 5.] famine, and for preservation of the Church itself from demolition[q]. But eradication, to pluck up good institutions root and branch, is not reformation, which we profess, but destruction.

To conclude this digression. So as monasteries were moderated in their number, and in their revenues; so as the monks were restrained from meddling between the pastor and his flock, that is, the bark and the tree, as it was of old,—'*monachus in oppido piscis in arido*'—'a monk in a great town was thought like a fish upon dry land[r];' so as the abler sort, who are not taken up with higher studies or weightier employments, were inured to bestow their spare hours from their devotions in some profitable labour for the public good, that idleness might be stripped of the cloak of

[o] [Plutarch, De Poet. Audiend., Op. Moral. tom. i. p. 40. ed. Wyttenb. The story relates to the Thracian, not the Spartan, Lycurgus.]

[p] [c. iv. pp. 141, &c.]

[q] [See authorities in Bingham, Orig. Eccles., bk. v. c. 6. § 6.]

[r] [In allusion to a saying of S. Antony reported by S. Athanasius in Vitâ Anton., c. 85., Op. tom. i. P. ii. p. 859. B. ed. Bened.]

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contemplative devotion; so as the vow of perpetual celibate were reduced to the form of our English Universities, so long a fellow so long unmarried, or of the Canonesses and Biggins[s] on the other side the seas, which are no longer restrained from wedlock than they retain their places or habits; so as their blind obedience were more enlightened, and secured by some certain rules and bounds; so as their mock poverty (for what is it else to profess want and swim in abundance?) were changed into a competent maintenance; and, lastly, so as all opinion of satisfaction and supererogation were removed; I do not see why monasteries might not agree well enough with reformed devotion.

Henry VIII. no friend to Protestants.

So then, Henry the Eighth at the time of his secession from Rome, and long after, even so long as he lived, was neither friend nor favourer of the ensuing reformation, nor ordinarily of Protestants in their persons. As may yet more manifestly appear by that cruel statute of the Six Articles[t], which he made after all this, in the one-and-thirtieth year of his reign, as a trap to catch the lives of the poor Protestants: a law both 'writ in blood' and executed in blood.

Much less those who joined with him in the separation from Rome.

But suppose that Henry the Eighth had been a friend to Protestants, what shall we say to all the Orders of the kingdom? What shall we say to the Synods, to the Universities, to the four-and-twenty Bishops, and nine-and-twenty Abbots, who consented to this Act? were all these schismatics? Were Heath, Bonner, Tonstall, Gardiner, Stokesley, Thurleby, &c. all schismatics? If they were, then schismatics were the greatest opposers of the Reformation, the greatest enemies of the Protestants, and the greatest pillars and upholders of the Roman religion. These were they that granted the supremacy to King Henry the Eighth,—Archbishop Warham told him it was his right to have it before the Pope; these were they that preached up the supremacy of the King at St. Paul's Cross, and defended his supremacy in printed books; these consented to the Acts of Parliament for his supremacy and the extinguishing of the power of the Roman Bishop in England; these were they who helped to make the oath of supremacy, and took it themselves[u]; and all others of any note

[s] [i. e. Béguines.]

[t] 31 Hen. VIII. [c. 14.]

[u] [See authority for these statements in Foxe,] Acts and Monum., an. 1534,

throughout England, except only Fisher, Bishop of Rochester, and Sir Thomas More, who were in prison, before it was enacted, for opposing the King's marriage[x] and the succession of his children to the crown after it was ordained in Parliament. And wise men have thought that the former had taken it, if he had not been retarded by the expectation of a Cardinal's hat, which was come as far as Calais[y].

England unanimous in casting out the Pope.

Or rather what shall we say to the whole body of the kingdom, if we may believe the testimony of Stephen Gardiner Bishop of Winchester, a learned person of very near relation to King Henry, and in all other things a great zealot of the Roman Catholic party, in his book "Of True Obedience," published with a preface to it made by Bishop Bonner[z]. Thus he,—"No foreign Bishop hath authority among us;"..." all sorts of people are agreed with us upon this point with most stedfast consent, that no manner of person, bred or brought up in England, hath ought to do with Rome;" a full confession of an able adversary, to which I see not what can be excepted, unless it be said of him, as it was of Æneas Sylvius[a], '*Stephanus probavit, Wintoniensis negavit*'—'Doctor Gardiner approved it, but the Bishop of Winchester retracted it.' Admit it were so, as it was indeed, what is

1538. [bk. viii.] vol. ii. pp. 278, &c.—Concion. Tonstall [ibid. pp. 284, &c.] et Longlands [ibid. pp. 326, &c.—and for the saying here attributed to Abp. Warham, Strype's Cranmer, bk. i. c. 4; but the truth of the anecdote seems inconsistent both with the public conduct of that Archbishop in the management of the Synod of 1530, that granted the regal supremacy (Antiquit. Britann. Eccles., p. 325. Hanov. 1605.—Collier, Pt. ii. bk. i. vol. ii. p. 62.), and with his private protest after that Synod (Wilkins, Concil., tom. iii. p. 746). Foxe also only states *generally* (p. 326), that "there was appointed every Sunday a Bishop to preach at Paul's Cross against the supremacy of the Bishop of Rome." The sermons of Tonstall, Bp. of Durham, and Longlands, Bp. of Lincoln, were both preached before the King, the first in 1534, the second in 1538.]

[x] "Hist. aliquot nostri Sæculi Martyrum," [sect. concern. Sir Thomas More, fol. 7, a.] edit. an. 1550 [by Maurice Chawney, a Carthusian monk. See Wood's Athen. Oxon. by Bliss, vol. i. pp. 459, 460. It is quoted by King James, as in next note.]

[y] Apolog. Jac. Regis pro Juram. Fidel. [p. 108. Lond. 1609.]

[z] "De Verâ Obedientiâ," [first publ. in 1534-1535 in London, and again at Hamburgh with Bonner's Preface in 1536 (Tanner's Biblioth. Britannico-Hibern., art. Gardiner). The passages here quoted are in pp. 812. 817. of the reprint of it (with Bonner's Preface) in Brown's Appendix to Gratius, Fascicul. Rer. Expetend. et Fugiend., Lond. 1690. Gardiner is said (see the Biogr. Brit., art. Gardiner, note B.) to have been the illegitimate son of a Dr. Woodvill, Bp. of Salisbury, who was brother to Elizabeth, queen of Edw. IV. and grandmother of Henry VIII.]

[a] ["Ne, quæ fuerunt Æneæ, dicantur Pii;" are the words of Æneas Sylvius himself in his "Bulla Retractationum," prefixed to his works, Basil. 1571.]

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that to the stedfast unanimous consent of the whole kingdom? which appears not only from hence, but from Tonstall's Epistle to Cardinal Pole, and Bekenshaw's Commentary "Of the Sovereign and Absolute Power of Kings," as likewise "Of the Difference between Kingly and Ecclesiastical Power[b]," and, lastly and principally, by a book set forth by the English Convocation, called "The Institution of a Christian man[c]." And to shew yet further, that Ireland was unanimous herein with England, we find in the three-and-thirtieth year of Henry the Eighth, which was before all thoughts of reformation, not the Irish only, as the O Neals, O Reillys, O Birnes, O Carrols, &c., but also the English families, as the Desmonds, Barries, Roches, Bourkes, whose posterities do still continue zealous Romanists, did make their submissions by indenture to Sir Anthony Sellenger, then chief governor of that kingdom, wherein they 'acknowledged King Henry to be their sovereign lord, and confessed the King's supremacy in all causes, and utterly renounced the jurisdiction of the Pope[d].' So the Bishop of Winchester might well say, that there was an universal and stedfast consent in the separation from Rome[e].

And Ireland.

The pretended crimes of Henry VIII. no blemish to the Reformation.

II. The second exception weighs so little, that it scarce deserveth an answer. Admitting, but not granting, that any or all the calumnies of that party against Henry the Eighth were true, whereof divers by their impossibility and by the contradiction of their authors do carry their own condem-

[b] Cited by King James in his "Triplici Nodo Triplex Cuneus, [sive Apol. pro Juram. Fidel.," p. 107.] printed an. 1609. [Tonstall's Epistle is in Foxe, Acts and Monum., bk. viii. vol. ii. pp. 289, &c., and dates in 1534. Bekenshaw (or Bekinsau) published his tract "De Supremo et Absoluto Regis Imperio" in 1546; and that "De Verâ Differentiâ Regiæ et Ecclesiasticæ Potestatis" (by Fox, Bp. of Hereford, but one of those commonly called the King's books) was first published in 1534: see Wood's Athen. Oxon. by Bliss, vol. i. pp. 307, 308; and Tanner's Biblioth. Britannic. Hibern., art. Edw. Fox.]

[c] [Published in 1537, and commonly called the Bishops' Book. See the sect. 'On the Sacram. of Orders,' fol. 44, b. &c. The preface is signed by twenty-one, i. e. by all the Bishops, by eight Archdeacons (Bonner included, then Archdeacon of Leicester), and by seventeen of the other clergy.]

[d] Council Book of Ireland; 32, 33, 34, of Hen. VIII.

[e] [That the *renunciation* of the *Papal* supremacy was universal or nearly so, see Wharton's Observations on Strype's Cranmer, p. 25, l. 40, quoted by Collier, Ch. Hist., Pt. ii. bk. ii. vol. ii. p. 94, and the declarations themselves of the clergy in Rymer's Fœdera, vol. xiv. pp. 487-527. It was about an earlier and entirely distinct question, viz. the *granting* of the *regal* supremacy (see Collier, as above, bk. i. pp. 62, &c.), that the difficulties and divisions arose. Bramhall has weakened his argument unnecessarily by not clearly distinguishing the two.]

nation written in their foreheads; and although Henry the Eighth had been our reformer, as he was not; yet all this would signify nothing as to this present question. God doth often good works by ill agents. Jehu's 'heart was not upright towards the Lord,' yet God used him as an instrument to reform His Church and to punish the worshippers of Baal. We have heard of late of an aggregative treason[f], not known before in the world; but never until now of an aggregative schism. The addition of twenty sins of another nature cannot make that to be schism which is not schism in itself. We are sorry for his sins under a condition, that is, in case they were true, which for part of them we have no great reason to believe; but we are absolutely without condition glad of our own liberty. The truth is, God Almighty did serve Himself of a most unlawful dispensation granted by the Pope to King Henry the Eighth, to marry his brother's wife, as an occasion of this great work:—I say unlawful, because it was after judged unlawful by the Universities of England, France, Italy, after mature deliberation, and some of them upon oath, and by above a hundred foreign doctors of principal reputation for learning[g]. The coals of the King's suspicion were kindled in Spain, France, and Flanders, no enemies to the Pope; and blown by Cardinal Wolsey for sinister ends; but it was Cranmer that struck the nail home: and God disposed all things to His own glory.

[2 Kings x. 31.] [2 Sam. xxii. 24. Ps. xviii. 23.] [2 Kings x. 18-28.]

III. To their third exception, that to withhold obedience is schismatical as well as to withdraw it; I answer first, that they cannot accuse us as accessaries to schism, until they have first condemned their own great patrons, champions, and confessors, for the principal schismatics. Did Roman Catholics themselves find right and sufficient reason to turn the Pope out of England at the fore-door in fair daylight, as an intruder and usurper; and do they expect that Protestants,

[f] [Viz. in the case of the Earl of Strafford, in whose fate, it will be remembered, Bramhall was himself nearly involved.]

[g] Holinshed, in Hen. VIII. pp. 923, &c. [Lond. 1587.]—Hall, 22 Hen. VIII. [fol. 185, b. &c. Lond. 1550.—The foreign Universities, mentioned by both chroniclers, were those of Orleans, Paris (and the Faculty of Paris), Anjou, Bourges, Toulouse, Bologna, and Padua. Their decrees were published together in Latin and in English in 1532, and may be seen in the former language in the Records to Burnet's Hist. of the Reform., vol. i. bk. ii. No. 34.]

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who never had any relation to him, should let him in again by stealth at the back door?

"Turpiùs ejicitur, quàm non admittitur, hospes[h]."

It is true, Queen Mary afterwards gave him house-room again in England for a short time. But he raged so extremely, and made such bonfires of poor innocent Christians in every corner of the kingdom, that it is no marvel if they desired his room rather than his company.

Our laws are not cruel against Roman Catholics.

I have often wondered how any rational man could satisfy himself so as to make the severity of our laws, or the rigour of our princes, since the Reformation, a motive to his revolt from our Church. Surely the Inquisition was quite out of his mind. But I meddle not with foreign affairs:—he might have considered, that more Protestants suffered death in the short reign of Queen Mary, men, women, and children, than Roman Catholics in all the longer reigns of all our princes since the Reformation put together[i]; the former by fire and faggot, a cruel lingering torment, '*ut sentirent se mori*[j]'—'that they might feel themselves to die by degrees;' the other by the gibbet, with some opprobrious circumstances to render their sufferings more exemplary to others; the former merely and immediately for religion, because they would not be Roman Catholics, without any the least pretext of the violation of any political law; the latter not merely and immediately for religion,—because they were Roman Catholics,—for many known Roman Catholics in England have lived and died in greater plenty and power and reputation in every

[6]

[h] [Ovid., Trist., lib. v. Eleg. vi. v. 13.]

[i] [The number of those who suffered death for their religion in Queen Mary's reign (i. e. within a little more than five years' space) is said to have been no less than two hundred and seventy-seven (see Collier's Ch. Hist., Pt. ii. bk. v. vol. ii. p. 397); whereas the largest number, that Bridgwater (Aquapontanus) can reckon, of 'Roman Catholic martyrs' from 1558 to 1588, a space of thirty years, is but one hundred and forty-seven (Concert. Eccles. Cathol. in Angliâ, P. iii. in fin.). That the latter were put to death for *treason*, see the successive testimonies of Lord Burleigh ("Execution of Justice in England, not for Religion but for Treason," printed in 1583; to which the third Part of Bridgwater's Concertatio, &c. was a reply), King James (Apol., &c. as quoted in note I, and Declarat. to all Christian Kings, Princes, and Orders, in fin.), and Abp. Laud (Speech in the Star-chamber upon the Condemnation of Bastwick, Burton, and Prynne, pp. 37, 38. Lond. 1637); as quoted by Jer. Taylor, Serm. on Nov. 5th, Works, vol. vi. pp. 591, &c.—and the Replic. to the Bp. of Chalcedon, c. iv. pp. 181, &c., Discourse iii. Pt. i.]

[j] ["Ita feri, *ut se sentiat mori*," was the injunction of Caligula to the executioners of his victims; Sueton. in Caio, c. 30. p. 424. ed. Græv.]

prince's reign since the Reformation, than an English Protestant could live among the Irish Roman Catholics since their insurrection.—(If a subject was taken at Mass itself in England, which was very rare, it was but a pecuniary mulct: no stranger was ever questioned about his religion. I may not here omit King James his affirmation[k], that no man in his reign, or in the reign of his predecessor Queen Elizabeth, did suffer death for conscience' sake or religion.)—But they suffered for the violation of civil laws: as either for not acknowledging the political supremacy of the King in ecclesiastical causes over ecclesiastical persons, which is all that we assert; which the Roman Catholics themselves in Henry the Eighth's days did maintain as much or perhaps more than we: —(we want not the consent of their own schools, or the concurrent practice of kings and parliaments of their own communion; as Sancta Clara[l] doth confess,—"*Valde multi doctores, &c.*" —"Very many doctors do hold, that, for the public benefit of the commonwealth, princes have jurisdiction in many causes, otherwise being of ecclesiastical cognizance, by positive Divine law, and by the law of nature;" and though himself seem rather to adhere to others who ascribe unto them merely a civil power, yet he acknowledgeth, with the stream of schoolmen, that 'by their sovereign office, by accident and indirectly, for the defence of the commonwealth and the preservation of public justice and peace, they have great power over ecclesiastical persons in ecclesiastical causes in many cases;' "as they may command Bishops to dispose their spiritual affairs to the peace of the commonwealth, they may remove the froward from their offices," "they may defend the oppressed clergy from the unjust oppressions of ecclesiastical judges, &c.;" which he confesseth to be as much as our Article setteth forth: what the practice of other kings and princes is herein, we shall see more fully when I come to handle my fifth proposition[m]:)—or else for returning into the kingdom so qualified with forbidden orders, as the laws of the land do not allow (the state of Venice doth not, the kingdom of France hath not, abhorred from the like laws); or, lastly, for attempting to seduce some of the King's sub-

[k] Apolog. [pro Juram. Fidel., pp. 16-21.]

[l] In Artic. 37. [pp. 409, 410.]

[m] [c. vii.]

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jects from the religion established in the land. In all these cases, besides religion there is something of election; 'he that loves danger doth often perish in it.' The truth is this; 'a hard knot must have a heavy mall;' dangerous and bloody positions and practices produce severe laws. No kingdom is destitute of necessary remedies for its own conservation. If all were of my mind, as I believe many are, I could wish that all seditious opinions, and over-rigorous statutes, with the memory of them, were buried together in perpetual oblivion. I hold him scarce a good Christian that would not cast on one spade full of earth towards their interment. Pardon this digression, if it be one: cruelty is a symptom of schism.

Though the first separators were schismatics, we are free.

Secondly, I answer, that, though the Romanists could be contented to brand their own friends for the principal schismaties, yet they shall never be able to prove us accessaries, or fasten the same crime upon us, who found the separation made to our hands; who never had any thing to do with Rome; who never owed them any service but the reciproeal duty of love; who never did any act to oblige us to them, or to disoblige us from them. Indeed it were something, if they could produce a patent from Heaven of the Pope's Vicariate General under Christ over all Christians (but that we know they can never do); or but so much as an old canon of a general Council that did subject us to their jurisdiction; so as the same were neither lawfully revoked, nor their power 68 forfeited by abuse, nor quitted by themselves. Until then they may withdraw their charge of schism.

Nay, yet more, though they could justify their pretended title, yet we, acting nothing, but preserving all things in the same condition we found them, are not censurable as formal schismaties, whilst we err invincibly, or but probably, and are implicitly prepared in our minds to obey all our just superiors, so far as by law we are bound, whensoever we shall be able to understand their right.

There have been many schisms in the Roman Church itself. Sometimes two Popes, sometimes three Popes, at a time. One kingdom submitted to one, this to another, that to a third, every one believing him to whom he submitted to be the right Pope, and every one ready to have submitted to the right Pope if they had known who he was. Tell me,

were all those that submitted to Antipopes, presently schismatics? That were too hard a censure. The Antipopes themselves were the schismatics, and the Cardinals that elected them, and all those who supported them for avaricious, or ambitious, or uncharitable, ends. Discourse II.

We may apply to this purpose that which St. Austin[n] said concerning heretics; "*Qui sententiam suam, quamvis falsam atque perversam, nullâ pertinaci animositate defendit, præsertim quam non audaciâ præsumptionis suæ pepererit, sed a seductis et in errorem lapsis parentibus accepit; quærit autem cautâ solicitudine veritatem, corrigi paratus cum invenerit; nequaquam est inter hæreticos deputandus*"—"he that defends not his false opinion with pertinacious animosity, having not invented it himself but learned it from his erring parents; if he inquire carefully after the truth, and be ready to embrace it, and to correct his errors when he finds them, he is not to be reputed a heretic."

If this be true in the case of heresy, it holds much more strongly in the case of schism, and especially that schism which is grounded only upon human constitutions. He that disobeys a lawful superior through invincible ignorance, whom he deserted not himself but found him cast off by his parents, if he be careful to understand his duty and ready to submit so far as in justice he is bound, he is not to be reputed a schismatic. If men might not be saved by a general and implicit repentance, they were in a woful condition; for "who Ps. xix. 12. can tell how oft he offendeth? cleanse Thou me from my secret faults." And if by general and implicit repentance, why not by general and implicit faith? why not by general and implicit obedience? so as they do their uttermost endeavours to learn their duties, and are ready to conform themselves when they know them. God looks upon His creatures with all their prejudices, and expects no more of them than according to the talents which He hath given them. If I had books for that purpose, I might have cited many laws and many authors to prove, that the final separation from Rome was made long before the reformation of the Church

[n] August., Epist. 162. [editt. before Bened.—43. ed. Bened., Ad Glorium, &c., tom. ii. p. 88. F. G. Bramhall has substituted the singular for the plural number throughout.]

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of England. But it is a truth so evident and so undeniable by all those who understand our affairs, that I seem to myself to have done overmuch in it already.

Protestants no authors of the separation from the Church [any more than from the Court] of Rome.

I do expect that it should be urged by some, that there was a double separation of the Church of England from Rome: the former from the *Court* of Rome, the second from the *Church* of Rome; the former in point of discipline, the latter in point of doctrine; the former made in the days of Henry the Eighth, the other in the days of Edward the Sixth: that if the Protestants were not guilty of the former, yet certainly they were guilty of the latter.

To this I give two answers. First, that the second separation in point of doctrine doth not concern this question, whether the Church of England be schismatical, but another, whether the Church of England be heretical (or at least heterodox, for every error doth not presently make a heresy), which cannot be determined without discussing the particular differences between the Church of Rome and the Church of England. It is an undeniable principle to which both parties do yield firm assent, that "they who made the first separation from the primitive pure Church, and brought in corruptions in Faith, Liturgy, or use of the Sacraments[o]," are the guilty party; yea though the separation were not local, but only moral, by introducing errors and innovations and making no other secession. This is the issue of our controversy. If they have innovated first, then we are innocent and have done no more than our duties. It is not the separation, but the cause, that makes a schismatic. Secondly, I 69 answer, that as Roman Catholics (not Protestants) were the authors of the separation of England from the Court of Rome, so the Court of Rome itself (not Protestants) made the separation of England from the communion of the Church of Rome, by their unjust and tyrannical censures, excommunications, and interdictions, which they thundered out against the realm for denying their spiritual sovereignty by Divine right, before any reformation made by Protestants. It was not Protestants that left the communion of the Church of Rome, but the Court of Rome that thrust all the English nation, both Protestants and Roman Catholics together, out

[o] Mr. Knott, Infidelity Unmasked, [c. 7. sect. 112.] p. 534.

of their doors, and chased them away from them, when Pope Paul the Third excommunicated and interdicted England, in the days of Henry the Eighth, before ever any reformation was attempted by the Protestants [p]. In that condition the Protestants found the Church and kingdom of England in the days of Edward the Sixth. So there was no need of any new separation from the communion of the Church of Rome; the Court of Rome had done that to their hands.

So, to conclude my first proposition; whatsoever some, not knowing, or not weighing, the state of our affairs and the Acts and records of those times, have rashly or ignorantly pronounced to the contrary, it is evident, that the Protestants had no hand either in the separation of the English Church from the Court of Rome, or in their separation from the Church of Rome; the former being made by professed Roman Catholics, the latter by the Court of Rome itself; both before the Reformation following in the days of Edward the Sixth, both at a time when the poor Protestants suffered death daily for their conscience upon the six bloody Articles.

CHAP. IV.

THAT THE KING AND KINGDOM OF ENGLAND, IN THE SEPARATION FROM ROME, DID MAKE NO NEW LAW, BUT VINDICATE THEIR ANCIENT LIBERTIES.

THE second conclusion upon examination will prove as evident as the former; that Henry the Eighth, and those Roman Catholics with him, who made the great separation from the Court of Rome, did no new thing, but what their predecessors in all ages had done before them, treading in the steps of their Christian ancestors.

Eminent persons have great influence without any jurisdiction.

And, first, it cannot be denied, but that any person or society that hath an eminent reputation of learning, or prudence, or piety, or authority, or power, hath ever had, and ever will have, a great influence upon his or their neighbours, without any legal jurisdiction over them or subjection due from them.

The dignity of the Apostolical Churches.

Secondly, it is confessed, that in the primitive times great was the dignity and authority of the Apostolical Churches,

[p] Bulla Pauli III. [A. D. 1538.] ap. Sander., De Schism., lib. i. pp. 131, sq.

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as Rome, Antioch, Ephesus, Hierusalem, Alexandria, which were founded by the Apostles themselves; and that those ancient Christians in all their differences did look upon the Bishops of those Sees as honourable arbitrators, and faithful depositaries of the genuine Apostolical traditions, especially wherein they accorded one with another. Hence is that of Tertullian [q], "*Constat omnem doctrinam quæ cum illis Ecclesiis Apostolicis, matricibus, et originalibus, conspirat*, &c."—"Whatsoever doctrine agrees with those Apostolical, original, mother-Churches, is to be reputed true." And in this sense, and no other, St. Cyprian, a great admirer and imitator both of the matter and words of Tertullian, whom he honoured with the title of 'his Master[r],' doth call the Church of Rome a "matrix" and a "root [s]." But if the tradition varied, as about the observation of Easter, between Victor Bishop of Rome and Polycrates Bishop of Ephesus, the one prescribing from St. Peter and St. Paul, the other from St. John, the respective Churches did conform themselves to their superiors; or if they were free (as the Britannic Churches were), to their own judgment or to the example of their neighbour Churches; or kept them to the tradition delivered unto them by their first converters; as in this very controversy about Easter, and some baptismal rites, the British and Scottish Bishops always adhered to the Eastern Church;—a strong presumption that thence they received the Faith, and were not subordinate to the Patriarchal See of Rome. But yet all this honourable respect proceeded from a free prudential compliance, without any perpetual or necessary subjection. Afterwards some Churches lost, some gained, the place and dignity of Apostolical Churches; either by custom, so Ephesus lost it [t]; or by the canons of the Fathers, so Constantinople did get it [u]; or lastly by imperial privileges, so Justiniana and Carthage obtained it [x]. 70

[q] Lib. de Præscript. adv. Hæret. [p. 238. B. Paris. 1634.]

[r] [Hieron., De Vir. Illustr., c. 53, ap. Fabric., Bibl. Eccles., pp. 124, 125.]

[s] Lib. iv. Epist. 8. [ed. Erasm.—Ep. 48. p. 91. ed. Fell., Ad Cornelium. See also Ep. 45, Ad Cornel., p. 86.]

[t] [See Bingh., Orig. Eccles., bk. ii. c. 17. § 10.]

[u] [Concil. Constantin. (A. D. 381.) Can. 3. (ap. Labb. Concil. tom. ii. p. 947.)—Concil. Chalcedon. (A. D. 451.) Can. 28. (Ibid. tom. iv. p. 769.)—Concil. Trullan. (A. D. 680.) Can. 36. (ibid. tom. vi. p. 1159).]

[x] Novell. 131. cc. 3. et 4. [tit. xiv. "De Eccles. Titulis," &c. pp. 275, 276. Genev. 1626.]

Thirdly, it is not to be doubted of, but that after the year six hundred, after that Pope Bonifacc had quitted his Patriarchal dignity by assuming a more lofty title of universal Bishop, the succeeding Popes by the connivance, leave, or consent, of our Kings, did sometimes more, sometimes less, upon pretence of their universal jurisdiction, by degrees thrust in their sickle into the ecclesiastical affairs of England. Whosoever shall ponder duly with what a depth of prudence the Roman Court hath managed all occasions and occurrences to the advantage and advancement of that See, and consequently to the improvement of their own authority; whosoever shall weigh seriously with what art and cunning the Papacy (as it now is) was tacked into the Church contrary to wind and weather, and how their "beginning of unity" was screwed up to an omnipotence, and universality of power; whosoever shall duly consider what advantage they made to that See, and therein to themselves, by the only countenancing of Phocas his base and bloody murder[y] or of Charles Martel his more glorious and successful revolt[z];—will not wonder to observe, how they did watch their times, when we had princes of weak judgments, or necessitous, or superstitious, or of unjust or litigious titles, to wind themselves into Britain. Nay, rather he will admire, that they did not radicate themselves more deeply and more firmly therein; which without doubt they had effected, but for their exorbitant rapines, whilst they thought that like foxes they might prey most boldly farthest from their own kennel:—"*Anglia vere hortus noster deliciarum, . . . puteus inexhaustus est; [et] ubi multa abundant, multa de multis extorqueri possunt*"—"That England indeed was his garden of delight, a well that could not be drawn dry; and where many things did abound, out of much, much might be extorted[a]."

It is no marvel that the Pope winded himself into England by degrees.

1. But, first, this intrusion was manifest usurpation and tyranny; this was the gangrene of the Church, which no subsequent possession or submission could warrant, no tract

No Saxon, English, or British, king ever made any

[y] [Greg. M. Epist., lib. xiii. Ep. 31. Ad Phocam.—Ep. 39. Ad Leontiam Imperatric. See Gibbon, c. xlvi.]

[z] [It was Pepin, not Charles Martel, the son, not the father, in whose favour Childeric was deposed from the throne of France by the 'authority' of the Popes Zachary I. and Stephen III. See Gibbon, c. xlix.]

[a] Matt. Paris. [Hist. Angl., in] an. 1216. p. 705.

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obliging submission to the Pope.

of time or prescription sufficiently confirm. *"Quod ab initio fuit invalidum tractu temporis non convalescit"*—that which is not only unjust but invalid in its beginning, can never be made valid by the empty pretence of a following custom or prescription. Neither do I find in truth that any of the petite Saxon kings, or their subjects, though some of them indebted to St. Gregory for their first conversion, and all of them much weakened by their sevenfold division (for at first of seven kings there was but only one who was a Christian, namely the king of Kent; neither was it any of his progeny who did afterwards unite the heptarchy into a monarchy), much less that any of the succeeding kings of England, or of Great Britain united, did ever make any solemn, formal, or obliging acknowledgment of their submission to the Bishop of Rome. But on the contrary, when Austin first arrived in England, he stayed in the Isle of Thanet, until he knew the King's pleasure[b], and offered not to preach in Kent, until he had the King's license for him and his followers to preach throughout his dominions[c]. So not only their jurisdiction, but even the exercise of their pastoral function within that realm, was by the King's leave and authority. The donation or resignation of King John, whereby he went about to make a free kingdom servile and feudatory to the Pope, did concern the Crown more than the Mitre, and was soon hissed out of the world to the perpetual shame and infamy of such mercenary pastors; yet to obtain this ludibrious act the power of the Keys was abused, and the kingdom of England stood interdicted by the space of six years and three months[d].

The Pope's power in England was of courtesy.

The Popes in later times had some power in England, of 71
courtesy, not of duty, but never that omnipotence which they gaped after. Sometimes they sent their nuncios or legates into England; so they did of old into other Patriarchates. Sometimes they admitted appeals from England to Rome; so they did of old from Africk. Sometimes they excommunicated the English subjects; so did Pope Victor long since excommunicate all the Asiatics. But neither Asia nor Africk for all that did acknowledge the Pope's jurisdiction. On the

[b] Bed. [Hist. Eccles. Angl.] lib. i. c. 25.

[c] Id. lib. i. c. 26.

[d] [See an account of this in c. vi.]

other side, sometimes their legates were not permitted to enter into the realm, or after their arrival thrust out of the realm, unless they would give caution by oath for their good demeanour. Sometimes their Bulls and excommunications were slighted or damned, and they who procured them soundly punished for their labours. Sometimes all appeals to Rome were prohibited under most severe penalties, and their decrees rejected. All this while our kings and Bishops called Councils, the one under civil punishments, the other under ecclesiastical; made ecclesiastical laws and constitutions in their Synods and Parliaments; yea express constitutions against the Court of Rome itself, with as much tartness and vehemency as King Henry the Eighth; and with this only difference, that they endeavoured to draw the people out of the Pope's claws at home, and he thought it more expedient to throw the Pope over the British sea once for altogether. The old and lawful Patriarchal power of the Roman Bishops within their own districts, had been renounced long before by themselves. Their new universal monarchy, erected by themselves, was not capable of prescription; or if it had, yet such a dubious unquiet possession as the Popes did hold in England at the mercy and discretion of the right owners, was not sufficient to make a legal prescription, or to justify their pretended title, or to render them '*bonæ fidei possessores*'—'lawful and conscionable possessors.' This is that which I am now to demonstrate in this second ground.

Wilfrid the first great appellant [to Rome].

2. The most famous (I had almost said the only) appellant from England to Rome that we read of before the Conquest, was Wilfrid Archbishop of York; who, notwithstanding that he gained sentence upon sentence at Rome in his favour, and notwithstanding that the Pope did send express nuncios into England on purpose to see his sentence executed, yet he could not obtain his restitution or the benefit of his sentence for six years, during the reigns of King Egbert and Alfred his son. Yea, King Alfred told the Pope's nuncios expressly, that "he honoured them as his parents for their grave lives and honourable aspects, but he could not give any assent to their legation; because it was against reason, that a person twice condemned by the whole

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Council of the English, should be restored upon the Pope's letter[e]." If they had believed the Pope to be their competent judge, either as universal monarch, or so much as Patriarch of Britain, or any more than an honourable arbitrator (which all the Patriarchs were, even without the bounds of their proper jurisdictions), how comes it to pass that two kings successively, and the great Councils of the kingdom, and the other Archbishop Theodore with all the prime ecclesiastics and the flower of the English clergy, did so long and so resolutely oppose so many sentences and messages from Rome, and condemn him twice, whom the Pope had absolved? Consider that Wilfrid was an Archbishop, not an inferior clerk; and if an appeal from England to Rome had been proper or lawful in any case, it had been so in his case. But it was otherwise determined by those who were most concerned.

Malmesbury[f] supposeth, either by inspiration, or upon his own head, that the King and the Archbishop Theodore were smitten with remorse before their deaths, for the injury done to Wilfrid and the slighting of the Pope's sentence, letter, and legates. But the contrary is most apparently true; for first, it was not King Alfred alone, but the great Council of the kingdom also, nor Theodore alone, but the main body of the clergy, that opposed the Pope's letter, and the restitution of Wilfrid in that manner as it was decreed at Rome; secondly, after Alfred and Theodore were both dead, we find the Pope's sentence and Wilfrid's restitution still opposed by the surviving Bishops, in the reign of Alfred's son.

To clear the matter past contradiction, let us consider the ground of this long and bitter contention. Wilfrid the Archbishop was become a great pluralist, and had engrossed into his hands too many ecclesiastical dignities. The King and the Church of England thought fit to deprive him of some of them, and to confer them upon others. Wilfrid appealed 72
from their sentence unto Rome. The Pope gave sentence after sentence in favour of Wilfrid. But, for all his sentences, he was not, he could not be, restored, until he had quitted

[e] Spelman, Concil. an. 705. [tom. i. p. 203.]

[f] [Malmesbury, De Gest. Pontif. Anglor. lib. iii. pp. 265. 267. ap. Savil. Rer. Anglic. Scriptor.; who had however for his 'supposition' the authority of Eddius (in Vitâ Wilfrid., cc. 42. 58. pp. 73. 86. ap. Galei Hist. Brit. Scriptor. xv.), quoting the last words of Theodore and the will of Alfred.]

two of his monasteries, which were in question, Hengesthill-dean, and Ripon, which of all others he loved most dearly, and where he was afterwards interred. This was not a conquest, but a plain waving of his sentences from Rome and a yielding of the question; for those had been the chief causes of the controversy. So the King and the Church after Alfred's death still made good his conclusion, that it was against reason, that a person twice condemned by the whole Council of the English, should be restored upon the Pope's Bull. And as he did not, so neither did they, give any assent to the Pope's legation[g].

So unfortunate were appeals to Rome in those days: and as unfrequent as unfortunate; for from that time until Anselm's days, after the Norman Conquest in the reign of Henry the First, we do hardly meet with another appeal. Then Pope Paschal the Second had devised a new oath for Archbishops, when they received their pall; an oath much wondered at in all places, as a strange innovation;—"*Significâsti reges et regni majores admiratione permotos, &c.*"—"you signified unto me that kings and nobles were moved with admiration, that the pall was offered unto you by our ministers, upon condition that you should take an oath which they brought you written from us, &c.[h]" This oath was that which animated Anselm to contest so hotly with the King. The main controversy was about this very question of appeals to Rome. The King pleaded the fundamental laws and customs of the land,—"*Consuetudo regni mei est à patre meo instituta, ut nullus præter licentiam Regis appelletur Papa. Qui consuetudines regni tollit, potestatem quoque et coronam Regis* [l. *regni*] *violat, &c.*[i]"—"it is a custom of my kingdom instituted by my father, that no Pope may be appealed unto without the King's license. He that taketh away the customs [Anselm.]

[g] [That the treatment of Wilfrid by the English clergy fully bears out Bramhall's *argument*, see Collier (Ch. Hist., Pt. i. bk. ii. vol. i. pp. 117, &c.); but the *facts* are in one material point mistated by him, from a mistranslation, as it should seem, of Malmesbury's expression, "*Dimissis Wilfrido duobus cœnobiis*, &c." (p. 268, as quoted in note f). The monasteries of Hengesthill-dean (Hexham) and Ripon were *restored* to Wilfrid, not taken from him, by the synod of Nidd, as appears from the life of Wilfrid by Eddius (c. 58. p. 86, as quoted in note f).]

[h] [Decretal., lib. i. tit. vi.] De [Electione et] Electi Potest. c. 4. 'Significasti, &c.'—Baron. Annal. an. 1102. num. 8. [tom. xi.]

[i] Malmesb. De Gestis Pontif. Anglor. lib. i. [p. 219. For "Regis" in the last clause, read "regni."]

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of the kingdom, doth violence to the power and crown of the King." It is to be noted, that the laws established by his father (that was, William the Conqueror) were no other than the laws of Edward the Confessor, that is to say, the old Saxon laws; so he might justly say, both that it was an ancient immemorial custom of the kingdom, and also that it was instituted or established by his father (so Hoveden tells us[k], that at last he yielded to the request of his Barons, &c., that was, by his authority to confirm the laws of King Edward). But the best was, that though Anselm the Archbishop was obliged by oath to the Pope, yet the Bishops were not so soon brought into the same bondage; and therefore the former author tells us[l], that "*in his exequendis omnes Episcopi Angliæ Primati suo suffragium negârunt*"—"in the execution of these things, all the Bishops of England did deny their suffrage to their Primate." So unanimous were they in this point.

[The Statute of Clarendon.]

Which unanimity of the whole realm, both clergy and laity, doth appear yet more evidently by the statute of Clarendon, made in the reign of the grand-child of this king, when all the Prelates and Peers of the realm did confirm the former ancient British English custom, not only by their consents, but by their oaths[m], whereof we shall have occasion to speak more hereafter. And upon this custom was that law grounded, which our histories[n] do make mention of,—"*Si quis inventus fuerit literas vel mandatum ferens Domini Papæ, &c. capiatur, et de eo, sicut de regis traditore et regni, sine dilatione fiat justitia;*"—"If any one be found bringing in the Pope's letter or mandate, let him be apprehended, and let justice pass upon him without delay as a traitor to the king and kingdom:" and "generally every man is interdicted" (or forbidden) "to appeal to the Pope."

Legations as rare as appeals.

And the legations from Rome were almost as rare as appeals to Rome, during the reigns of all the British and Saxon kings until the Norman Conquest: as Gregory Bishop of Ostium the Pope's own legate did confess, that 'he

[k] Hoveden, in Hen. II. [p. 608. ap. Savil. Rer. Anglic. Scriptor.—speaking of William the Conqueror.]

[l] Malmesb. [as before quoted.]

[m] Matth. Paris. an. 1164. [pp. 100, 101.]

[n] Rog. Hoveden. in Hen. II. [p. 496.]

was the first Roman priest that was sent into those parts of Britain, from the time of St. Austin[o].' And those legates were no others than ordinary messengers or ambassadors, sent from one neighbour to another. Such a thing as a legantine court, or a nuncio's court, was not known in the British world in those ages, and long after. It is not enough to shew that one Roman Bishop did once send over one or two doctors to help to propagate or confirm the Faith, or to lend their helping hands to Religion fainting. This may well set forth their devotion, and our obligation. But further as to the present question it signifies just nothing. Favours cease to be favours, when they are done on purpose to deprive
73 men of their ancient liberties. The British Bishops, and English also, have done as much for other nations, over whom they did never challenge any jurisdiction. The French Church sent over Germanus and Lupus to help to root up the relics of Pelagianism in Britain[p], yet did never pretend thereby to any authority over the Britons.

Saxon kings made ecclesiastical laws.

Add to this, that, during all the time from St. Gregory to the Conquest, it was usual for the British, Saxon, and Danish kings, with their clergy or great Council, to make ecclesiastical laws, and to regulate the external discipline of the Church within their dominions: witness the laws of Excombert, Iva, Withred, Alfred, Edward, Athelstan, Edmond, Edgar, Athelred, Canutus, and Edward the Confessor, among whose laws one makes it the office of a king 'to govern the Church as the Vicar of God,' another implies a power in the king and his judges, to take cognizance of 'wrong done in ecclesiastical courts[q].' It was to this holy King Edward the Confessor, that Pope Nicholas the Second, by his Bull for him and his successors, granted these ensuing privileges to the kings of England for ever; namely, "the advocation and protection of all the churches of England, and power in his

[o] Spelm. Concil. an. 787. [tom. i. p. 293.]

[p] [Bed., Hist. Eccles., lib. i. c. 17; see also Usher, De Primord. Britann. Eccles., c. xi. pp. 319, &c. They have been claimed however as *Papal* legates on the authority of Prosper's Chronicon., but with how little reason may be seen in Stillingfleet (Orig. Britann., c. iv. pp. 192, &c.).]

[q] [Leges Eccles. Edw. Reg. et Confessor.] cc. 15. et 5. [ap. Spelm., Concil., tom. i. (pp. 620-622); where may be found likewise the eccles. laws of the other Saxon kings above named. *Ear*combert (king of Kent in 640) is apparently intended by *Ex*combert, and Ira is a mistake (copied from Foxe) for Ina.]

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stead to make just ecclesiastical constitutions, with the advice of their Bishops and Abbots[r]." This grant is as full or fuller than that, which Urban the Second made to Roger Earl of Sicily, from whence the kings of Spain at this day do not only challenge, but enjoy, in a manner, all ecclesiastical power in Sicily[s]. If the Pope had ever had any such right as he pretends, this only Bull were sufficient to justify our kings. But they enjoyed this very power from the beginning, as an essential flower of their crowns, without any thanks to the Pope. 'To make just ecclesiastical constitutions in the Pope's stead,' saith the Bull. 'To govern the Church as the Vicar of God,' saith the law of the land.

An old artifice of the Roman Bishops.

The Bishops of Rome have ever been very kind in granting those things which were none of their own, and in making deputations and delegations to them who stood in no need of their help, being lawfully invested beforehand by another title in that power and dignity, which the Popes pretended out of their goodness to confer upon them, but in truth did it only for the reputation of their See and for maintaining the opinion of their own grandeur. Whether the deputation were accepted or not, they did not much trouble themselves. So they dealt with Hosius, President in the Council of Nice[t]; so they dealt with the Patriarch of Justiniana Prima[u]; so they served good King Edward, and many others.

Norman kings enjoyed the same power.

This legislative power in ecclesiastical causes over ecclesiastical persons, the Norman kings after the Conquest did also exercise from time to time, with the advice and consent of their lords spiritual and temporal. Hence all those statutes concerning benefices, tithes, advowsons, lands given in mortmain, prohibitions, consultations, *præmunires*, *quare impedits*, privilege of clergy, extortions of ecclesiastical courts or officers, and regulating their due fees, wages of priests, mortuaries, sanctuaries, appropriations, and, in sum, all things which did belong to the external subsistence, regiment,

[r] Spelm., Concil., an. 1066. [tom. i. p. 634.]

[s] [See an account of the case of Sicily in c. vii.]

[t] [Baronius (in an. 325. num. 20.) asserts, that Hosius presided at Nice as legate of Pope Sylvester. See Cave, Hist. Litt., art. Hosius.]

[u] [Pope Vigilius (A. D. 535) "assented to" Justinian's ordinance establishing his new Patriarchate (Novell. 131. tit. 14. c. 3. as above quoted); Gregory the Great sent a pall to the Patriarch of it (Greg. M., Epist., lib. ii. Ep. 23. Op. tom. ii. p. 586. B.).]

and regulating of the Church; and this in the reigns of our best kings, long and long before the Reformation[x]. Othobone, the Pope's legate under Urban the Fifth, would have endowed vicars upon appropriated rectories, but could not[y]. But our kings by two statutes or Acts of Parliament did easily effect it[z]. With us the Pope could not make a spiritual corporation, but the king. The Pope could not exempt from the jurisdiction of the Ordinary, but the king, who by his charter could convert seculars into regulars[a]. The Pope could not grant the privilege of the Cistercians and other Orders, to be free from the payment of tithes; but the king[b]. The Pope could not appropriate churches, but the king: we find eight churches appropriated to the Abbey of Crowland by the Saxon kings, three churches appropriated to the Abbey of Battell by the Conqueror, and twenty by Henry the First to the Church of Sarisbury[c]. The king in his great Council could make void the certificates of Ordinaries in cases of ecclesiastical cognizance, and command them to absolve those persons who were judged by his authority to be unjustly excommunicated[d]. The Pope could not translate an Archbishopric, or a Bishopric, but the king[e]. The disposition of ecclesiastical preferments upon lapse, accrued not to the Pope, but to the king, a plain evidence that he was the lord paramount: and the king only could incur no lapse—"*nullum tempus occurrit regi*;" because the law supposed that he was busied about the weighty affairs of the kingdom[f]. The revenues of a Bishopric in the vacancy, belonged not unto the Pope, but to the king; which he caused to be restored, sometimes from the time of the first vacancy, sometimes from the time of the filling of the church with a new incumbent, according to his good pleasure[g].

[x] [See these laws collected in Gibson's Codex, under the respective heads.]

[y] [Constitut. Othoboni Legati (A. D. 1248).] "De Appropr. [Eccles. non faciendis." tit. 22.] "Quoniam, &c." [p. 89. Oxon. 1663.]

[z] 15 Rich. II. c. 6.—4 Hen. IV. c. 12.

[a] 2 Hen. IV. c. 3.

[b] 2 Hen. IV. c. 4.

[c] [See Dugdale's Monast. Anglic., for the two Abbeys. That of Croyland, however, enjoyed (not eight but) ten advowsons, besides the alternate presentation to an eleventh, Cottenham in Cambridgeshire. The Charter of Hen. I. to Salisbury Cathedral is not among those in Dugdale. It is given (from the Bishop's Records) by Dodsworth in his Hist. of Salisb. Cathedr., Pt. ii. c. 1. p. 102.]

[d] 9 Hen. VI. c. 11.—Coke's Reports, Cawdrey's Case [Pt. v. case 1. from whom many of the above statements are taken.]

[e] [16 Rich. II. c. 5.]

[f] [17 Edw. II. c. 8.]

[g] [17 Edw. II. c. 14.]

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Canon-Law of no more force in England, than as it was received.

The canons of the Pope could not change the ecclesiastical laws of England, but the king, whose laws they were. He had power in his great Council to receive the canons if they were judged convenient; or to reject them and abrogate them if they were judged inconvenient. When some Bishops proposed in Parliament the reception of the ecclesiastical canon for the legitimation of children born before marriage (without such a reception the canon was of no force in England), all the peers of the realm stood up and cried out with one voice, '*Nolumus leges Angliæ mutari*'—'we will not have the laws of England to be changed[h].' The king and Parliament made a legislative exposition of the canon of the Council of Lyons concerning bigamy[i], which they would not have done, unless they had conceived themselves to have power, according to the fundamental constitutions of the kingdom, either to receive it or reject it. "*Ejus est legem interpretari cujus est condere;*"—'he that hath authority to expound a law legislatively, hath power to make it.' The king and Parliament declared Pope Urban to be the right Pope in a time of sehism[k], that is, in relation to England, their own kingdom, not by determining the titles of the Popes, but by applying the matter to the one and subtracting it from the other. All these are so many evidences, that, when Popery was at the highest, the Bishops of Rome had no such absolute ecclesiastical sovereignty in the Church and realm of England; and that what power they exercised at any time more than this, was by connivance, or permission, or violent usurpation; and that our Primates had no foreign superior legally established over them, but only the king, as he was the supreme Head of the whole body politic, to see that every one did his duty, and enjoyed his due right; who would not suffer one of his Barons to be excommunicated from Rome, without his privity and consent[l].

[Canon concerning] Bigamy.

No legate *de latere* was allowed by the law in England, but the Archbishop of Canterbury[m]. And if any was admitted of courtesy, he was to take his oath, to do nothing derogatory

[h] 20 Hen. III. c. 9.
[i] 4 Edw. I. c. 5.
[k] 2 Rich. II. c. 7.
[l] Eadmer., in initio. [Hist. Novor., lib. i. p. 6. ed. Selden. See also Selden's note.]
[m] [See Twysden's Histor. Vindic., c. iii. § 17. 40.]

to the King and his Crown[n]. If any man did denounce the Pope's excommunication without the assent of the King, by the law, he forfeited all his goods[o]. Neither might any man appeal to Rome without the King's license[p]. In the year 1420 the Pope translated the Bishop of Lincoln to York; but the Dean and Chapter absolutely refused to admit him, and justified their refusal by the laws of the land; and by the favour of the country carried the cause, so as the Pope was forced to recall him to Lincoln[q].

The Statute of Mortmain justified.

Having mentioned the statutes of Mortmain, I cannot but do my native country and the Church of England that right, to clear it from a heavy accusation framed against it upon mistaken grounds. That the English Protestants had made a law 'to maintain and patronize sacrilege, that no man (how penitent soever) could restore any thing to the Church, which had been formerly taken from it[r];' God forbid. First, the statutes of Mortmain were not made by Protestants, but in the days of Henry the Third, Edward the First, and Richard the Second[s], between the last of which and Henry the Eighth there reigned six kings successively. That is one great mistake. Secondly, the statutes of Mortmain did not at all concern the restitution of any thing that had been taken away. There was no use for that in those days. The only scope of those laws was to restrain the first donation of lands to the Church without royal assent. That is another mistake. Thirdly, these very laws of Mortmain are not so incredible, nor so hard to be believed, nor so altogether destitute of precedents and examples, as that author doth imagine, so as 'posterity should scarcely believe that ever any such law had been made[t].' He might have remembered the proclamation of Moses, when the people had already offered abundantly for
73 (bis) the adorning of the Sanctuary:—"Let neither man nor woman make any more work for the offering of the Sanctuary; so the people were restrained from bringing." He might have called to mind a like law of Theodosius, a godly emperor, and propitious to the Church, to moderate the people's bounty

Exod. xxxvi. 6.

[n] Placit., an. 1. Hen. VII.
[o] Placit. [Exercitus Regis], an. 24. Edw. I.—et an. 1. Hen. VII.
[p] Placit., an. 32. Edw. I.
[q] De Antiquit. Britann. Eccles., p. 279.
[r] [The Editor cannot ascertain from what author these words are taken.]
[s] [viz. 9 Hen. III. Stat. 1. c. 36.—7 Edw. I. Stat. 2.—15 Rich. II. c. 5.]
[t] [See note r.]

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and the clergy's covetousness: which law St. Ambrose and St. Hierome do so much complain of[u], not against the Emperor who made the law, but against the clergy who deserved to have such a law made against them. He might have found the like law made by Nicephorus Phocas, and afterwards revived by Emanuel Comnenus[x]. He might have remembered, that the troubles between the Pope and the Venetians did spring partly from such a law[y]. Briefly, with a little search he might have found like laws in Germany, Poland, France, Spain, Italy, Sicily, and, if he will trust Padre Paolo, in the Papacy itself[z].

The prince cannot wrong his subject, that is an owner or possessor of lands or hereditaments, in a well-ordered state. Then why should it be in the power of a subject that is an owner, to wrong his prince and his country? But by such alienations of lands to the Church in an excessive and unproportionable measure, the prince loseth his right, that is, both his tribute and his military service and fines upon change of tenants; the commonwealth loseth its supportation and due protection. Therefore they were called the laws of Mortmain, because the lands so alienated to the Church were put into a dead hand, from whence they never returned; and so in time the whole signiory should be the Church's; as it is elegantly expressed by the Venetian Orator to Paul the Fifth[a]; *Nè fortunis omnibus exuantur, nè quicquid sub cœlo Veneto homines arant, serunt, ædificant, omnia veluti quodam oceano Ecclesiæ absorbeantur, nihilque sibi reliqui fiat unde rempublicam, patriam, tecta, templa, aras, focos, sepulcra majorum defendere possint*"—"lest the citizens should be turned out of their estates, lest all which men plough, sow, build, under the Venetian heaven, should be swallowed up into the propitious to the Church, to moderate the people's bounty

[u] Ambros., Epist. 31. [ed. Erasm.—18. § 13. tom. ii. p. 836. D. E. ed. Bened.]—Hieron., ad Nepotianum [de Vitâ Clericor., Epist. 34. tom. iv. P. ii. pp. 260, 261. The law in question was Valentinian's, but is in the Theodosian Code, lib. xvi. tit. 2., "De Episcop. et Cleric.," num. 20. tom. vi. p. 48. ed. Gothofred.]

[x] Nicet. [Choniat., Annal.,] lib. vii. [p. 135. A. tom. xvii. of the Corp. Byzant. Hist.]

[y] [Father Paul's Hist. of the Quarrels of Pope Paul V. with the State of Venice, lib. i. pp. 15. 18, &c., Eng. Transl.]

[z] "Considerat. [Censurar. Paul V. Cont. Rempub. Venetam," by Father Paul:—in Goldastus, Monarch. S. Rom. Imp., tom. iii. p. 295.]

[a] Orat. ad Paul. V. pro Republ. Venetâ.

ocean of the Church; and nothing be left wherewith to defend the commonwealth, their country, their houses, their temples, their altars, their fires, and the sepulchres of their ancestors." To prevent this great inconvenience, the laws of Mortmain were devised prudently, to balance the spiritualty and the temporalty, that the one do not swallow up the other; to which all wise legislators have ever had, and ought to have, a special regard.

In France no man can build a new church without the king's license verified in Parliament. A new monastery builded in Genoa, without license, is to be confiscated. In Spain without license royal no new religions can enter into the kingdom. The Fathers of St. Francis de Paula began to build a church in Madrid upon their own heads, but they were stopped[b]. So equitable, so necessary, hath this law of Mortmain been thought to all nations.

[The Constitutions of Clarendon.]

But to leave this digression and come up closer to the direct point without any consequences. In the reign of King Henry the Second, some controversies being likely to arise between the Crown and Thomas Becket Archbishop of Canterbury, the King called a general assembly of his Archbishops, Bishops, Abbots, Priors, and Peers of the realm, at Clarendon, where there was made an acknowledgment or memorial "*cujusdam partis consuetudinum et libertatum antecessorum suorum, Regis videlicet Henrici avi sui, et aliorum, quæ observari debebant in regno et ab omnibus teneri*"—"of a certain part of the customs and liberties of his predecessors, that is to say, his grandfather Henry the First, son of the Conqueror, and other kings:" a "part;" but '*ex ungue leonem*,' from the view of this part we may conclude of what nature the rest were; "of the customs;" the customs of England are the Common Law of the land; "of his predecessors;" that is to say, the Saxon, Danish, and Norman kings successively; and therefore no marvel if they "ought to be observed of all." This part of their ancient customs or liberties they reduced into sixteen chapters or articles, to which all the Archbishops, Bishops, and other ecclesiastics, with all the Peers and Nobles of the realm, did not only give their ac-

[b] [All these facts are taken from Father Paul's Considerationes, &c., as above quoted, p. 290.]

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One was, that 'all appeals in England must proceed regularly from the Archdeacon to the Bishop, from the Bishop to the Archbishop; and if the Archbishop failed to do justice, the last complaint must be to the king, to give order for redress,' that is, by fit delegates: 'but there might be no further or other appeals without the consent of the king;' whereby the nunciatures and legantine court and the Court of Rome itself are all at the king's mercy. Wherein did the Pope's great strength lie in those days? when his hands were fast tied both at home and abroad. 74 (*bis*)

Another custom was, that "no ecclesiastical person might depart out of the kingdom without the king's license" (no, not though he were summoned by the Bishop of Rome); and if the king permitted them to go, yet, 'if he required it, they must give caution or security to act nothing hurtful or prejudicial to the king or kingdom in their going thither, abiding there, and returning home.' You see our ancestors were jealous of Rome in those days. Whether it was their providence or their experience that taught them this lesson, certainly their prudence to prevent dangers was very commendable.

A third custom was, that 'the revenues of all ecclesiastical dignities belonging to the king's demesne, during the vacancy, were to be received by the king, as freely as the rents of his own demesnes.' Tell me, who was then the patron and political Head of the Church?

A fourth custom was, that 'when an Archbishopric, Bishopric, Abbacy, or Priory, did fall void, the election was to be made by such of the principal dignitaries or members of that respective Church which was to be filled, as the king should call together for that purpose, with the king's consent, in the king's own chapel. And there the person elected was to do his homage and fealty to the king, as to his liege lord.' That later form of "*Dei et Apostolicæ Sedis gratiâ*" had taken no root in England in those days.

The rest are of the same nature, as that controversies concerning advowsons ought to be determined in the king's

court; benefices belonging to the king's patronage could not be appropriated without his grant.

When a clergyman was accused of any delinquency, the king's court ought to determine what part of his accusation was of civil, and what part of ecclesiastical cognizance. And the king's Justice might send to the ecclesiastical court to see it ordered accordingly. None of the king's servants or tenants that held of him *in capite* might be excommunicated, nor their lands interdicted, before the king was made acquainted.

When it was questioned whether a tenement was of ecclesiastic or lay fee, the king's Justice was to determine it by the oaths of twelve men. All ecclesiastical persons who held any possessions from the king *in capite*, were to do suit and service for the same as other barons did, and to join with the king's barons in the king's judgments, until it came to sentence of death or diminution of members.

To this memorial all the nobility and clergy of the English nation did swear firmly, in the word of truth, to keep all the customs therein contained, and observe them faithfully to the king and his heirs for ever. Among the rest, Thomas Becket the Archbishop of Canterbury himself was carried along with the crowd to take his oath; though shortly after he fell from it, and admitted the Pope's absolution[c].

[Statute of Carlisle.]

By the Statute of Carlisle[d], made in the days of Edward the First, it was declared, that "the holy Church of England was founded in the estate of Prelacy, within the realm of England, by the kings and peers thereof;" and that the several encroachments of the Bishop of Rome specified in that Act "did tend to the annullation of the state of the Church, the disinheriting of the king and the peers, and the destruction of the laws and rights of the realm, *contra formam collationis*—contrary to the disposition and will of the first founders." Observe; "in the state of *Prelacy*," not of *Papacy*; "*within* the realm," not *without* it; "by the *kings*," not by the *Popes*; of whose exorbitant and destructive

[c] [See the whole of this statement concerning the Constitutions of Clarendon in] Matt. Paris. an. 1164. [pp. 100-102.]

[d] 35 Edw. I. [c. 4. § 3; but usually referred to as 25 Edw. I. on the authority of a subsequent statute (viz. 25 Edw. III., stat. 6. § 1). See the statute itself and an account of it in Gibson's Codex, p. 65, note.]

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usurpations as our ancestors were most sensible, so they wanted neither will nor power to remedy them.

To corroborate this law by former precedents, and thereby to shew that our kings were ever accounted the right patrons of the English Church. King Edelwalk made Wilfrid Bishop of the South Saxons, now Chichester[e]. King Alfred made Asserio Bishop of Sherborne[f], and Œnewulphus Bishop of Winchester[g]. Edward the Confessor 'made Robert Archbishop, whom before from a monk he had made Bishop of London[h].' Thus the Saxon kings in all ages bestowed Bishoprics without any contradiction. The Norman kings followed their example. 'No sooner was Stigand dead, but William the Conqueror elected Lanfranc Abbot of St. Stephen's in Caen to be Archbishop[i].' William Rufus upon his death-bed elected Anselm to be Archbishop of Canterbury[k]. And until the days of Henry the First the Popes never pretended any right, nor laid any claim, to the patronage of the English Churches[l].

[Articles of the Clergy.]

The Articles of the Clergy[m] do prescribe, that 'elections be free, so as the King's *congè d'eslire*, or license to elect, be first obtained, and afterwards the election be made good by

[Statute of Provisors.]

the royal assent and confirmation.' And the Statute of Provisors[n];—"Our sovereign lord the king and his heirs shall have and enjoy for the time the collations to the Archbishoprics and other dignities elective which be of his advowry, such as his progenitors had before free election was granted: sith the first elections were granted by the king's progenitors upon a certain form and condition, as namely, to demand

[e] Malmesb., De Gest. Pont. Anglor. [lib. ii.] p. 257. [Selsey being then the metropolis of the See.]

[f] Id. p. 247. [Malmesb. spells the name (as usual) Asserus, and does not *expressly* say that he was made Bishop by Alfred. Asserus himself, however, does say so (in Alfredi Magni Vitâ, lib. ii. § 53. p. 101. ed. Spelman).]

[g] Id. p. 242. [Malmesb. calls the Bishop Deneulfus.]

[h] Id. lib. i. p. 204.

[i] [Id. p. 205.]

[k] [Eadmer, Hist. Novor., lib. i. pp. 16-18. William Rufus was dangerously ill at the time, but this happened two years before he was killed.]

[l] [Compare Sir Roger Twysden's "Histor. Vindication of the Church of England in point of Schism," ch. iii. pp. 53, &c.]

[m] Articuli Cleri [scil. articles of complaint presented to the king in Parliament by the clergy and redressed by statute. The Act here referred to is 9 Edw. II.; of which c. 14. declares that 'elections shall be free' "juxta formam statutorum et ordinationum," that form being determined to the conditions mentioned in the text by the charter of King John in 1214 (Spelm., Concil., tom. ii. pp. 135, 136. —Gibson's Codex, p. 104).]

[n] 25 Edw. III. [Stat. 6. § 3.]

license of the king to choose, and after choice made to have his royal assent: .... which condition not being kept, the thing ought by reason to return to its first nature." Further, by the same Statute of Provisors it is declaratively enacted [o], that 'it is the right of the Crown of England, and the law of the realm, that upon such mischiefs and damages happening to the realm' (by the encroachments and oppressions of the Court of Rome, mentioned in the body of that law), 'the king ought, and is bound by his oath, with the accord of his people in Parliament, to make remedy and law for the removing of such mischiefs.' We find at least seven or eight such statutes made in the reigns of several kings against Papal provisions, reservations, and collations, and the mischiefs that flowed from thence [p].

[Statute of Præmunire.]

Let us listen to another law [q];—"The Crown of England hath been so free at all times, that it hath been in no earthly subjection, but immediately subjected to God in all things touching its regality, and to no other, and ought not to be submitted to the Pope." Observe these expressions, "free at all times," "free in all things," "in no earthly subjection," "immediately subjected to God," "not to be submitted to the Pope:" and all this in ecclesiastical affairs, for of that nature were all the grievances complained of in that law, as appears by the view of the statute itself. Then if the kings of England and the representative body of the English Church do reform themselves according to the word of God and the purest patterns of the primitive times, they owe no account to any as of duty, but to God alone. By the same statute it is enacted [r], that 'they who shall procure or prosecute any Popish Bulls and excommunications' (in certain cases) 'shall incur the forfeiture of their estates, or be banished, or put out of the king's protection.' By other statutes [s] it is enacted, that 'whosoever should draw any of the king's subjects out of the realm' (to Rome) 'in plea about any cause, whereof the cognizance belongeth to the king's court, or should sue in any foreign court to defeat any judgment given in the king's court' (that is, by appealing to Rome), 'they should

[o] [Ibid. § 2.]

[p] [See Gibson's Codex, tit. iii. cc. 1, 2. pp. 68, &c.] 16 Rich. II. c. 5. [§ 1.—Statute of Præmunire.]

[q] [Ibid. § 2.]

[r] [Ibid. § 2.]

[s] 27 Edw. III. c. 1. [§ 1.]

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incur the same penalties.' The body of the kingdom would not suffer Edward the First to be cited before the Pope[t]. Henry the Sixth, by the counsel of Humphry Duke of Glocester, the Protector, protested against Pope Martin and his legate,—that they would not admit him contrary to the laws and liberties of the realm; and dissented from whatsoever he did[t].

So we see plainly, that the king and Church of England ever enjoyed as great or greater liberties than the Gallican king and Church; and that King Henry the Eighth did no more in effect, than his progenitors from time to time had done before him. Only they laboured to dam up the stream, and he thought it more expedient to stop up the fountain, of Papal tyranny; not by limiting the habitual jurisdiction of the Roman Bishop, which was not in his power to do, but by substracting the matter, and restraining the actual exercise of it within his own dominions. And it is observable, that in the greatest heat of these contentions the Prelates of the realm, being present in Parliament, disavowed the Pope's encroachments, and offered the king to stand with him 'in 76 these and all other cases touching his crown and regality, as they were bound by their allegiance[u]:' that is, according to the law of feuds, according to their homage done, and according to the oath which they had taken at their investitures into their Bishoprics.

Indeed, of later days, during those bloody wars between the Houses of York and Lancaster, the Popes sometimes invaded this undoubted right of our kings *de facto*, not *de jure*, as was easy for them to do, and tendered to the Bishops at their investitures another oath of their own making, at first modest and innocent enough, that they should observe "*regulas Sanctorum Patrum*"—"the rules of the Holy Fathers." But after they altered the oath, and falsified their Pontifical as well as their faith, changing "*regulas*

[t] [Foxe's] Acts and Monum. [Letter of "the Lords Temporal and the whole Barony of England to the Pope," in their own name, and in that of "the whole Commonalty" of the realm, an. Edw. Primi 28. A. D. 1301. bk. iv. vol. i. pp. 388, 389.—Protest of Henry VI. with the assent and advice of the Protector, &c. against the entry into the realm and the authority of the Cardinal of S. Eusebius, legate of Pope Martin, A. D. 1428. bk. v. vol. i. pp. 802, 803.]

[u] [16 Rich. II. c. 5. § 2. num. 5.]

Sanctorum Patrum" into "*regalia Sancti Petri*,"—that they should maintain the royalties of St. Peter[x]: a shameless forgery; and, admitting them to be the interpreters of their own forms, opening a gap to rob kings of the fairest jewels of their crowns, and Bishops not only of their jurisdictions but also of their loyalty and allegiance to their lawful sovereigns; unless they take the oath with a protestation, as our Archbishop Cranmer did, that 'he would not bind himself to any thing contrary to the laws of God or the Realm, or the benefit thereof; nor yet limit himself in the reformation or government of the Church[y]': before which time two opposite and repugnant oaths were administered to the Bishops, as Henry the Eighth made it appear plainly in Parliament[z].

Many things in prudence might be done but for fear of such like alterations and encroachments. Our kings gave Peterpence to Rome as an alms; but in process of time it was exacted as a tribute[a]. The emperors for more solemnity chose to be sworn by the Pope at Rome, as the kings of France at Rheims, and the kings of England at Westminster; and this was misinterpreted as a doing homage to the Pope.

"*Rex venit ante fores jurans prius urbis honores;*
"*Post homo fit Papæ, sumit quo dante coronam*[b]."

"The King doth come before the gate,
"First swearing to the city's state;
"The Pope's man then he doth become,
"And of his gift doth take the crown."

[x] Pontif. vetus, [compared with the] Pontif. Novum. [The same oath is appointed by the Pontifical to be twice taken by the Bishop, once before his Consecration, and again at his reception (should it be granted him) of the pall; and of this oath two forms exist, differing very considerably both in length and meaning. The shorter form, which contains only the first of the two clauses given in the text, occurs in the Decretals (lib. ii. tit. 24. "De Jurejur.," c. 4.); the longer, which contains only the last of the two, occurs in the Pontificals (e. g. in those of Clement VIII., Rome 1595, and Urban VIII., Paris 1664; although it is remarkable that the other form is substituted for it in that of Venice, 1530); and both clauses together are found in the oath submitted to Parliament by Henry VIII. in 1532 as that which was then taken by the English Bishops (Collier, Ch. Hist., Pt. ii. bk. i. vol. ii. p. 68.—Burn., Hist. of the Reform., vol. i. bk. ii. in an. 1532). The substitution or addition appears to date from the time of Paschal II., A. D. 1191. See an account of it in Twysden's Histor. Vindic., ch. iii. pp. 46-48, and the two oaths compared at length in Barrow, On the Pope's Supremacy, Introd. § xiv.]

[y] Ex Regist. Cranm., p. 4. [in the Append. to Strype's Cranmer, num. v.]

[z] Hall in Hen. VIII. fol. [205.—See Collier's Ch. Hist., Pt. ii. bk. i. vol. ii. p. 68.]

[a] [See a circumstantial history of the payment of Peterpence in Twysden's Histor. Vindication, ch. iv. pp. 74, &c.]

[b] [Radevic., De Gest. Frederici I. Imperatoris, lib. i. c. 10.]

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Poets might be bold by authority; but it rested not there. Good authors affirm the challenge in good earnest[c]. And Clement the Fifth in one of his canons or decrees[d] doth conclude it; "*declaramus juramenta prædicta fidelitatis existere et censeri debere*"—"we declare that the aforesaid oaths are and ought to be esteemed oaths of allegiance."

The sovereignty of our kings in ecclesiastical causes over ecclesiastical persons.

Lay these particulars together; our kings from time to time called Councils, made ecclesiastical laws, punished ecclesiastical persons and saw that they did their duties in their callings, prohibited ecclesiastical judges to proceed, received appeals from ecclesiastical courts, rejected the laws of the Pope at their pleasure with a "*nolumus*"—"we will not, have the laws of England to be changed," or gave legislative interpretations of them as they thought good, made ecclesiastical corporations, appropriated benefices, translated Episcopal Sees, forbade appeals to Rome, rejected the Pope's Bulls, protested against his legates, questioned both the legates themselves, and all those who acknowledged them, in the King's Bench (I may add, and made them pay at once an hundred and eighteen thousand pounds as a composition for their estates[e]), condemned the excommunications and other sentences of the Roman Court, would not permit a peer, or baron of the realm, to be excommunicated without their consents, enjoyed the patronage of Bishoprics and the investitures of Bishops, enlarged or restrained the privilege of clergy, prescribed the endowment of vicars, set down the wages of priests, and made Acts to remedy the oppressions of the Court of Rome.

King Henry VIII. did no more than his predecessors.

What did King Henry the Eighth in effect more than this? He forbade all suits to the Court of Rome by proclamation, which Sanders calls the beginning of the schism[f]; divers statutes did the same. He excluded the Pope's legates; so did the law of the land, without the king's special license. 77 He forbade appeals to Rome; so did his predecessors many

[c] Occham, [Dialog. De Potestate Imperiali et Papali,] P. iii. [Tract. ii. lib. i.] c. 22. [who refutes the assertion.]

[d] "De Sent. et Rejudic." [Clementin., lib. ii. tit. 9. § 1. "De Jurejurando." Bramhall refers by mistake to tit. 8.]

[e] [But this was Henry the Eighth's own act; who extorted £100,000 from the Clergy of the province of Canterbury, and £18,840 from those of the province of York, on the ground of an alleged Præmunire incurred by their consent to Wolsey's legantine authority. Collier, Ch. Hist., Pt. ii. bk. i. vol. ii. p. 61.]

[f] [De Schism., lib. i. p. 71. ed. 1610.]

ages before him[g]. He took away the Pope's dispensations; what did he in that but restore the English Bishops to their ancient right, and the laws of the country with the canons of the Fathers to their vigour? He challenged and assumed a political supremacy over ecclesiastical persons in ecclesiastical causes; so did Edward the Confessor "govern the Church as the Vicar of God in his own kingdom;" so did his predecessors hold their crowns as 'immediately subjected to God, not subjected to the Pope.' On the other side, the Pope by our English laws could neither reward freely, nor punish freely, neither whom, nor where, nor when, he thought fit, but by the consent or connivance of the State. He could neither do justice in England by his legates without controlment, nor call Englishmen to Rome without the king's license. Here is small appearance of a good legal prescription, nor any pregnant signs of any sovereign power and jurisdiction by undoubted right and so evident uncontroverted a title as is pretended.

The judgment of our English lawyers.

I might conclude this my second proposition with the testimonies of the greatest lawyers and judges of our land ('artists ought to be credited in their own art'); that the laws made by King Henry on this behalf were not operative, but declarative; not made to create any new law, but only to vindicate and restore the ancient law of England, and its ancient jurisdiction to the crown[h]. There had needed no restitution, if there had not been some usurpation; and who can wonder that the Court of Rome, so potent, so prudent, so vigilant and intent to their own advantage, should have made some progress in their long-destined project, during the reigns of six or seven kings immediately succeeding one another, who were all either of doubtful title, or mere usurpers without any title, such as cared not much for the flowers of the crown, so they might but hold the diadem itself from their competitors?

Therefore our ecclesiastical law was called the king's law, because the edge and validity of it did proceed from authority royal; our ecclesiastical courts were styled the king's courts

[g] Antiquit. Brit. p. 325.

[h] Fitzherb., Nat. Brev. [fol. 44, 45, &c. ed. of 1598, who states the old law.]—Lord Coke, [Reports,] Cawdrey's case, [Part v. case 1., who also infers the identity of the new.]

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by his judges. It is true, the habitual jurisdiction of Bishops flows from their Ordination; but the actual exercise thereof in public courts after a coercive manner, is from the gracious concessions of sovereign princes.

In a word, the law being merely intended as a remedy against usurpation, it cannot be a new law, but only a legislative declaration of the old common law of England.

I will conclude this chapter with the words of Bishop Bilson[1]; — "As for his Patriarchate, by God's law he hath none; in this realm for six hundred years after Christ he had none; for the last six hundred years, looking after greater matters, he would have none; above, or against, the Prince's sword he can have none; to the subversion of the Faith or oppression of his brethren he ought to have none; you must seek farther for subjection to his tribunal; this land oweth him none."

CHAP. V.

THAT THE BRITANNIC CHURCHES WERE EVER EXEMPTED FROM FOREIGN JURISDICTION FOR THE FIRST SIX HUNDRED YEARS, AND SO OUGHT TO CONTINUE.

THIRDLY, supposing that the Reformed Church of England had separated itself from Rome, and supposing that the municipal laws of the realm then in force had not warranted such a separation, yet the British Churches, that is, the Churches of the British islands, England, Scotland, and Ireland, &c., by the constitution of the Apostles and by the solemn sentence of the Catholic Church, are exempted from all foreign jurisdiction, and cannot be schismatical in the lawful vindication of a just privilege so well founded: — 78 for the clearer manifestation whereof let us consider:

The supremacy in the whole College of the Apostles.

1. First; that all the twelve Apostles were equal in mission, equal in commission, equal in power, equal in honour, equal

[1] The True Difference [between Christ. Subjection and Unchrist. Rebellion,] Pt. ii. [p. 32].

in all things, except priority of order, without which no society can well subsist[k].

So much Bellarmine confesseth, that by these words, "As My Father sent Me, so send I you," our Saviour endowed them with all the fulness of power that mortal men were capable of[l]. And therefore no single Apostle had jurisdiction over the rest ('*par in parem non habet potestatem*'), but the whole College of Apostles, to which the supreme managery of ecclesiastical affairs did belong in common; whether a new Apostle was to be ordained; or the office of Deaconship was to be erected; or fit persons were to be delegated for the ordering of the Church, as Peter and John, Judas and Silas; or informations of great moment were to be heard, as against Peter himself—(though Peter out of modesty might condescend, and submit to that to which he was not obliged in duty, yet it had not become the other Apostles to sit as judges upon their superior, placed over them by Christ). Or whether the weightier questions, of the calling of the Gentiles, and circumcision, and the law of Moses, were to be determined; still we find the supremacy in the College.

Acts i. Acts vi. Acts viii. and xv. Acts xi. Acts xv.

2. Secondly: that drowsy dream, that the plenitude of ecclesiastical power and jurisdiction was given by Christ to St. Peter as to "an ordinary pastor," to be derived from him to his successors, but to the rest of the Apostles as delegates for term of life, to die with themselves; as it is lately and boldly asserted[m], without reason, without authority, either divine or human, so it is most repugnant to the doctrine of the Fathers, who make all Bishops to be the vicars and ambassadors of Christ (not of the Pope), and successors of the Apostles, indifferently, "*vicarii ordinatione*[n]," "who make but 'one Episcopacy in the world, whereof every Bishop hath

The other Apostles had successors as well as St. Peter.

[k] Cypr., De Unit. Eccles. [Op. pp. 107, 108.]—Concil. Ephes. [A.D. 431.] in Epist. Synod. ad Nestor. [Bramhall probably refers to the Synodical Epistle of the provincial Council of Alexandria, which is attributed by Isidorus Mercator to the general Council of Ephesus immediately subsequent to it, and in which the Apostles are mentioned without distinction as jointly delivering the Faith to the Churches:—see it in Labb., Concil., tom. iii. pp. 396. 409.]—Ambros., [Lib. de Incarn. Dom. Sacram., c. iv. § 32. tom. ii. p. 710. E.]—et alii. [see the evidence of the Fathers upon the subject in Barrow, On the Pope's Supremacy, Answ. to Suppos. I., especially § xviii.; and Field, Of the Church, bk. v. cc. 32. 39.]

[l] Bellarm., De Pontif. Roman., lib. iv. c. [23. Op. tom. i. p. 1045. B.]

[m] [Bellarm., as quoted in last note, lib. i. c. 11. Op. tom. i. p. 647. B.]

[n] [Cypr., Ep. 66., p. 167.—See Barrow, Answ. to Suppos. II., § 9, &c.]

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an equal share [o].' St. Peter was a pastor, and the pastoral office is of perpetual necessity in the Church. True; but so were all the rest of the Apostles pastors as well as he. And if we examine the matter more narrowly, "*cui bono*"—"for whose advantage" this distinction was devised; it was not for St. Peter's own advantage, who, setting aside his principality of order, is confessed to have had but an equal share of power with his fellow Apostles, but for the Pope's advantage, and the Roman Court's, whom they desire to invest solely with the key of all original jurisdiction.

Why the Bishop of Rome St. Peter's successor, rather than of Antioch?

And if we trace on this argument a little further, to search out how the Bishop of Rome comes to be St. Peter's heir '*ex asse*,' to the exclusion of his elder brother the Bishop of Antioch, they produce no authority, that I have seen, but a blind ill-grounded legend out of a counterfeit Hegesippus—of St. Peter's being about to leave Rome, and Christ's meeting him upon the way, and admonishing him to return to Rome, where he must be crucified for His Name [p]; which reason halts on both sides; the foundation is apocryphal, and the superstruction is weak and unjointed without any necessary connection.

The highest constitution of the Apostles exceeded not *national* Primates.

3. Thirdly; it appeareth not to us, that the Apostles in their days did either set up any universal monarchy in the Church, or so much dilate the borders or bounds of any one man's single jurisdiction, as to subject so great a part of the Christian world, as the Western Patriarchate, to his obedience. The highest that they went, if any of those canons which bear their names be genuine, was to national or provincial Primates or Patriarchs,—for a Protarch or Primate and a Patriarch in the language of the ancient Church signified one and the same thing,—in whose pre-eminence there was more of order and care, than of single jurisdiction and power. Read their three-and-thirtieth canon,—"It behoves the Bishops of every distinct nation to know him who is their First" (or Primate), "and to esteem him as their Head; and to do nothing that is of difficulty, or great moment, contrary to his opinion. But neither let him do any thing without

[o] ["Episcopatus unus est, cujus a singulis in solidum pars tenetur" (Cypr., de Unit. Eccles., Op. p. 108).]

[p] Platin. in Vitâ Scti. Petri [p. 6, 1. Col. Agripp. 1626. But see Bramhall's Replic. to the Bp. of Chalc., c. v. (p. 205. fol. ed.), Disc. iii. Pt. i.]

the opinion of all of them[q]." This national Primacy or Protarchate, or Patriarchate, under which the Britannic Churches flourished for many ages, is the very same which we contend for.

How some Primates came to be more respected in the Church than others:

4. Fourthly; it is worthy of our inquiry, how in process of time some Primates did obtain a much more eminent degree of honour, and a larger share in the government of the Church, than others. And of this their adventitious grandeur, we find three principal fountains: first, ancient customs; secondly, the canons of the Fathers; and thirdly, the edicts of Christian princes. First, ancient customs. Upon this ground the first general Council of Nice settled the authority and privileges of the three Patriarchal Sees of Rome, Alexandria, and Antioch;—"Let ancient customs prevail[r]." And these customs commonly proceeded either from the memory of the Apostles, who had founded such Churches; from whence as from Apostolical fountains their neighbours did fetch sound doctrine, and reciprocally paid to them due respect;—so Hosius proposed in the Occidental Council of Sardis in favour of the See of Rome, 'Doth it please you that we should honour the memory of St. Peter[s]?'—or from the more powerful principality of the city, which is alleged by the Council of Chalcedon as a reason of the greatness both of the Secs of Rome and Constantinople,—'because they were the seats of the emperors[t].' Secondly, the canons of the Fathers, either without custom, or against custom. Thus the Bishop of Hierusalem, an Apostolical See, was raised above the Bishop of Cæsarca, an imperial city, notwithstanding the contrary custom[u]. Thus Constantinople, because it was newly made the seat of the empire, was equalled to an Apostolical See, that is, Rome, and preferred before all the rest by the general Councils of Constantinople and Chalcedon, notwithstanding the opposition of the Bishop of Rome by his legates, who grieved the more to see Thracia,

either by custom;

or from the grandeur of the city;

or by decrees of Councils;

[q] Can. Apostol. 33. [ap. Labb., Concil., tom. i. p. 32.—See Bingham, bk. ii. c. 16. § 1-3.]

[r] ["Τα ἀρχαῖα ἔθη κρατείτω."] Concil. Nicæn. can. 6. [ap. Labb., Concil., tom. ii. p. 32. C.]

[s] [Concil. Sardic. (A.D. 347) can. 3., ap. Labb., Concil., tom. ii. pp. 628, 629.]

[t] Concil. Chalcedon. [A. D. 451) can. 28. "διὰ τὴν βασιλεύειν," κ. τ. λ. [ap. Labb., Concil., tom. iv. p. 770.—Concil. Constantin. (A. D. 381) can. 3., ap. Labb., Concil., tom. ii. p. 947.]

[u] [Concil. Chalcedon., IV. Œcumen. (A. D. 451), Act. vii., ap. Labb., Concil., tom. iv. pp. 612-617.]

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which he conceived to belong to his own jurisdiction, to be annexed to a rival See. Lastly, the edicts of sovereign princes, who out of favour either to the place of their birth or of their residence or of their own foundation, or for the weal-public and better accommodation of their subjects, have enlarged or restrained Patriarchates within their own territories, and raised up new Primates or Patriarchs as they thought fit. But of this more in my next conclusion[x].

or by edicts of princes.

Many Primates subject to none of the five great Patriarchs.

5. Fifthly; notwithstanding the pre-eminence of the five great Patriarchs of Rome, Constantinople, Alexandria, Antioch, and Hierusalem, and their great power and authority in the Church, especially in general Councils; yet there were many other Protarchs or Patriarchs, who had no dependence upon them at all out of Council, nor owed them any obedience, but only a precedence and honourable respect. Ruffinus, a Priest of the Roman Church who lived not long after the Council of Nice, and one who understood the ancient proper bounds of the Roman Patriarchate as well as any man, doth limit it to the Suburbicary Churches, that is, a part of Italy and three islands, Sicily, Sardinia, and Corsica[y]. Afric had a Primate of their own at Carthage; the rest of Italy at Milan; France at Arles or Lyons; Germany at Vienna; Britain was removed far enough out of this account[z].

The case between the Patriarch of Antioch and Cyprian Bishops.

But this appears most clearly in the case between the Patriarch of Antioch and the Cyprian Bishops, sentenced in the general Council of Ephesus. The Patriarch of Antioch challenged the ordination of the Cyprian Bishops, and consequently a Patriarchal jurisdiction over them; for 'all other rights do follow the right of ordination.' They denied both his right of ordination and jurisdiction. The difference was heard. The witnesses were examined for matter of fact. And a sentence was given, not only in favour of the Cyprian Bishops, but of all others which were in the same condition: among which number were our Britannic Churches, as shall evidently appear in this ensuing discourse. But first let us listen to the words of the Council; 'Since common diseases do need greater remedies, because they bring greater damage;

[x] [See c. vi.]

[y] Ruffin., Hist. Eccles., lib. i. c. 6. [See Cave, Governm. of the Anc. Ch., cc. iii., and v. § 10.]

[z] [Cave, ibid., c. v. § 2. 5. 6-8.,—Beveridge, Cod. Can. Eccl. Prim., lib. ii. c. v.,—Bingh., bk. ix. c. i. § 11. It was the *Gallic* Vienna, which was a metropol. See.]

if it be not the ancient custom that the Bishops of Antioch ordain in Cyprus, as the Council is sufficiently satisfied,' . . . "the Cyprian Prelates shall hold their rights untouched and unviolated, according to the canons of the holy Fathers and the ancient custom, ordaining their own Bishops. And let the same be observed in other Dioceses, and in all Provinces, that no Bishop occupy another Province, which formerly and from the beginning was not under the power of him, or his predecessors. If any do occupy another Province, or subject it by force, let him restore it, that the canons of the Fathers be not slighted, nor pride creep into the Church under the pretext of worldly power, lest by little and little that liberty be lost which Christ purchased for us with His blood. Therefore it hath pleased the Holy Synod, that every Province enjoy its rights and customs unviolated, which it had from the beginning[a]." These words "from the beginning"—"ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἄνωθεν,"—are twice repeated. It is no marvel if some, addicted to the interest of Rome, have gone about by slight of hand, but very unsuccessfully, to shuffle this canon out of the Acts of the Council. If the Fathers in that holy and Œcumenical Council were so tender and sensible of "pride creeping into the Church" in those days, and of the danger "to lose their Christian liberty" in the case of the Bishop of Antioch, who neither pretended Divine right, nor universal jurisdiction, nor superiority above Councils; what would they not have said or done in this present case of the Bishop of Rome, who challengeth not only the right of ordaining, but the grace of ordination, and sovereign jurisdiction, not over Cyprus only, but over the whole Christian world, not from custom, or canons, or edicts, but from the institution of Christ; who makes all the validity of the decrees of those Œcumenical Councils which his predecessors received and reverenced as the Gospel[b], to depend upon his own confirmation[c]?

["Μηδὲ ἐν ἱερουργίας προσχήματι ἐξουσίας τύφος (addend. κοσμικῆς) παρεισδύηται."]

To apply this home to the question. The general Council

The case of the

[a] Concil. Ephes. [A. D. 431] P. ii. Act. 7. [ap. Labb., Concil., tom. iii. p. 802. One unimportant clause is inaccurately translated, as will be seen by the original placed above in the margin.]

[b] Greg. M., Epist., lib. i. Ep. 24. [editt. before Bened.—25. ed. Bened. See p. 97, note e.]

[c] [See Beveridge, Annot. ad Synodic., pp. 58, 59, 106; and Leo Allat., De Eccl. Occ. et Or. Consens., lib. i. c. 25. § 2, 3.]

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Cyprian Bishops applied.

of Ephesus declared, that no Bishop should occupy any province, which before that Council, and "from the beginning," had not been under the jurisdiction of him or his predecessors; and that if any Patriarch usurped any jurisdiction over a free Province, "he should quit it;" for so "it pleased," not the Pope, but "the holy Synod," that every Province should "enjoy its ancient rights pure and inviolate." Now if it shall evidently appear, that the Bishops of Rome never exercised any manner of jurisdiction over the Britannic Churches from the beginning; no, nor yet before the general Council of Ephesus; nor for six hundred years after Christ; that is, until they themselves had disowned their Patriarchal right; when Pope Boniface the Third, who entered into the Roman See about three years after the death of Gregory the Great, obtained from Phocas an usurping emperor to be universal Bishop, that is to say, an usurping monarch over the Church[d]; which fell out so soon after the arrival of Austin in England, that there wanted time to have settled the Roman Patriarchate in Britain, though the Britons had been as willing to receive it, as they were averse from it; and if no true general Council since that time hath ever subjected Britain unto the Roman Court; then the case is clear, that Rome can pretend no right over Britain, without their own consents, nor any farther, nor for any longer time, than they are pleased to oblige themselves; then the subsequent and violent usurpations of the Roman Bishops cannot render them *bonæ fidei possessores*—lawful owners; but that they are always bound to quit their encroachments, and the Britannic Churches and those who derive by succession from them are always free to vindicate and reassume their ancient rights and privileges.

The proof in this cause ought to rest upon our adversaries.

In this controversy, by law, the burden of the proof ought to rest upon them, who affirm a right, and challenge a jurisdiction; not upon us who deny it. Men are not put to prove negatives. Let them produce their registers, and shew for the first six hundred years what ecclesiastical courts the Roman Bishops or their legates have held in Britain, what causes they have removed from thence to Rome upon appeals,

[d] [A. D. 606. See Paul. Diac., De Gest. Langobard., lib. iv. c. 11. Augustine came to England in 597.]

what sentences given in Britain they have repealed there, what British subjects they have excommunicated, or summoned to appear at Rome; let them shew what Bishoprics they have conferred in Britain in those days, what British Bishops did then entitle themselves to their Bishoprics "by the grace of God, and of the Apostolic See;" let them declare to the world how many of our British Primates or Patriarchs of York, London, or Caerleon, have constantly, or at all, repaired to Rome to be ordained, or have received licenses or dispensations thence for their ordination at home, or elsewhere; for '*ordinationis jus cætera jura sequuntur*'—he who is necessarily by law obliged to have recourse to a foreign Prelate for his ordination, is thereby implied to be inferior or subject to his ordainer. If they can say nothing to any of these points, they may disclaim their Patriarchal right in Britain, and hold their peace for ever.

[Why York is set before London.]

The reasons why I set York before London in the order of our British Patriarchs or Primates, are these. First, because I find their names subscribed in that order in the Council of Arles, held in the year 314, consisting as some say of two hundred, as others say, of six hundred, Bishops, convocated by Constantine the Great, before the first Council of Nice, to hear and determine the appeal of the Donatists from the
83 sentence of the imperial delegates, whereof Melchiades the Bishop of Rome was one[e]. It were a strange sight in these days to see a Pope turn legate to the emperors in a cause of ecclesiastical cognizance. Secondly, for the same reason that Rome and Constantinople in those days of the Roman puissance were dignified above all other Churches, because they were then the seats of the emperors. York was then an imperial city, the metropolis of the chief Britannic province, called at that time Maxima Cæsariensis; where Severus the Emperor died, and had his funeral pile upon Severs Hill, a place adjoining to that city; where Constantine the Great was born, "*in domo Regali vocatâ Pertenna*[f]"—"in the Royal

[e] [Act. Concil. Arelatens., ap. Labb., Concil., tom. i. p. 1430. See Ussher, De Primord. Eccles. Brit., c. v. pp. 97, 98.]

[f] [For the evidence upon the very doubtful question of Constantine's birthplace, see Ussher as before quoted, c. viii. pp. 173-193; and for the particular testimony given in the text (which is that only of the English Orators at the Council of Basle in 1434 in a dispute for precedence with the ambassadors of Spain), the addenda (p. 990) to that chapter, p. 175. l. 28. Gibbon prefers the claims of Naissus in Dacia.]

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Palace" (whereof some poor remainders are yet to be seen) then "called Pertenna," now a small part of it called vulgarly Bederna (a very easy mistake, if we consider that the British pronounce P for B, and T like D), situate near Christ's-Church "*in Curiâ Regis*," or in the King's Court, on the one hand, and extending itself near to St. Helen's Church upon the walls, now demolished, on the other hand.

Although their silence alone to my former demand (at least of so many whom I have seen that have written upon this subject) be a sufficient conviction of them, and a sufficient vindication of us; yet for farther manifestation of the truth, let us consider,—

The Britannic Church ancienter than the Roman.

1. First, that if we compare the ages and originals of the Roman and Britannic Churches, we shall find, that the Britannic is the more ancient and elder sister to the Roman itself; the Britannic Church being planted by Joseph of Arimathea in the reign of Tiberius Cæsar[g], whereas it is confessed that St. Peter came not to Rome, to lay the foundation of that Church, until the second year of Claudius,—"*secundo Claudii anno in Italiam venit*[h]:" so if we look to the beginning, according to the direction of the Council of Ephesus, the Britannic Church in its first original was free from the jurisdiction of the Bishop and Court of Rome, where there was neither Bishop nor court nor ecclesiastical jurisdiction at that day.

The Britannic Churches sided with the Eastern against the Roman.

2. Secondly, that it continued free in ensuing ages appears evidently by that opposition, which the Church of Britain maintained against the Church of Rome, siding with the Eastern Churches about the question of those times concerning the observation of Easter and administration of Baptism, wherein Austin about the six hundredth year laboured to conform them, but in vain. Is it credible that the whole British and Scottish Church should so unanimously have dissented from Rome for many hundred years together, if they had been subject to the jurisdiction of the Roman

[g] Gild., De Excid. et Conquestu Britann. [c. 6. ed. Josselin. 1568.—But for the amount of his testimony see Stillingfleet's Orig. Britann., c. i. init., who regards it as consistent with the otherwise probable account that the British Church was founded by St. Paul after A.D. 60.]

[h] Platin. in Vitâ Sancti Petri [p. 4, 1].—Baron., Annal., in an. 44. [num. 60. But the truth of this account appears to be more than doubtful.]

Bishop, as of their lawful Patriarch; or that the Bishop of Rome in all that time should never so much as question them for it, if they had been his subjects? even then when Pope Victor durst attempt to deny or withdraw his communion from all the Asiatic Churches about the same business. Neither were the British Churches at last conformed to Rome by any Patriarchal power, but by many conferences, by the necessity of their civil affairs, and by long tract of time, some sooner, some later:—a long tract of time indeed, when some in the most septentrional parts of those provinces were not reduced until a little before the late Reformation.

British Bishops ordained at home.

3. Thirdly, among the principal privileges of Patriarchal power is the right of ordination;—that all Metropolitans at least should either be ordained by the Patriarch, or by license from the Patriarch. This appears clearly in the dispute between the Patriarch of Antioch and the Cyprian Bishops. But where the Bishops were *αὐτοκέφαλοι* and *αὐτόνομοι*[i]—independent upon, not subject unto, any foreign Prelate, there they ordained at their own pleasures, [and] needed no license. Such were our British Primates, [not[k]] ordained always or ordinarily at Rome, [but[k],] according to the Cyprian privileges, creating new Bishoprics, ordaining new Bishops, at their own pleasures, without giving any account to Rome. So we read of St. Telaus, who had been driven out of his own country by an epidemical sickness for a long time, that at his return he consecrated and ordained Bishops as he thought fit: that he 'made one Hismael Bishop of St. David's,' and "in like manner advanced many other men of the same order to the same degree, sending them throughout the country, and dividing the parishes for the best accommodation of the clergy and of the people[l]." And if there were no other proof of our exemption, but only the small number of the Bishops that
84 were ordained by all the succeeding Popes for about the first three hundred years until the death of Marcellinus; it were [A.D.304.] sufficient to shew, that the Bishops of Rome in those days had little or nothing to do out of their own province, and

[i] [Bingham, bk. ii. c. 18. § 2.]

[k] [These two words are inserted upon the authority of the folio edition. They are clearly required to complete the sense.]

[l] Regest. Landav., ap. Ussher., De Primord. Eccles. Brit., [c. xiv. pp. 559, 560.]

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that their jurisdiction extended nothing near so far as Britain. St. Peter ordained but three in his supposed five and twenty years, that is, Linus and Cletus ("*ut sacerdotale Ministerium Romano populo et advenis bene sentientibus exhiberent*[m]") and Clement, to whom he bequeathed his Episcopal chair: Linus but eleven, Clement but fifteen, Anacletus but six, Euaristus but five, Alexander but five, Sixtus but four[n], &c. These were few enough for their own province, and none to spare for Britain. In the whole term of three hundred years there were few above two hundred Bishops ordained at Rome. Italy alone may brag well near of as many Bishops at one time, as many succeeding Popes did ordain in all their ages[o]. Let them not tell us of the scarcity of Christians in those days. The writings of Tertullian, and Saint Cyprian, and the Councils held within the time limited, do evince the contrary[p]. No, the first badge of their Patriarchal authority in Britain was sending of the pall (or the only badge during the times of the Britons and Saxons); and the first pall that came into Britain was after six hundred years.

The answer of Dionothus.

4. But this doth yet appear much more clearly from the answer of Dionothus the reverend and learned abbot of Bangor (which according to the manner of those times was an university or seminary of learning and piety among the Britons, and he the well-deserving rector of it), made in his own name and in the name of the Britons, when they pressed him to submit to the Roman Bishop as his Patriarch;—that 'he knew no obedience due to him whom they called the Pope, but the obedience of love; and that under God they were to be governed by the Bishop of Caerleon[q].' Observe first, what strangers the Britons were to the Papacy,—"that man whom you call the Pope:" secondly, that they acknowledged no

[m] Platin. [in Vitâ S. Petri, p. 6, 1.]

[n] [Platin. in the lives of those Popes.]

[o] [The number of Episcopal Dioceses, assigned by the fullest account to the ancient province of Italy (which however was of larger extent than Italy commonly so called), is 277 according to Bingham (bk. ix. c. 5).]

[p] [Tertull., Apolog. adv. Gentes, c. 37. Adv. Judæos, c. 7.—There is no one passage in St. Cyprian equally to the point with the two well-known passages quoted from Tertullian: but the language he holds throughout his works *implies* the existence of a widely extended and numerous Church. There were present in the fourth Council of Carthage in 253 sixty-six Bishops; in the seventh Council of Carthage in 256 seventy-one; and in the eighth Council of Carthage in the same year eighty-seven (Cave, Hist. Litt.).]

[q] Spelm., Concil., an. 601. [tom. i. pp. 108, 109.]

subjection or subordination, no "obedience" whatsoever, due from them to Rome, but only the reciprocal duty of "love," that was just the same that Rome did owe to them: thirdly, that "under God," that is, immediately, without any foreign Prelate or Patriarch intervening, "they were to be governed by the Bishop of Caerleon," as their only Primate and Patriarch; which privilege continued to the succeeding Bishops of that See for many ages afterwards, saving that the Archiepiscopal Chair was removed from Caerleon to St. David's in the reign of King Arthur[r]: and, lastly, observe the time when this answer was made, after the first six hundred years were expired; so it is a full demonstrative convincing proof for the whole term prefixed.

Confirmed by two British Synods.

But, lest any man should cavil and say, that Dionothus was but one man and that the body of the British clergy might be of another mind, that which follows strikes the question dead: that Austin, St. Gregory's legate, proposing three things to the Britons; first, that they should submit to the Roman Bishop; secondly, that they should conform to the customs of the Roman province about the observation of Easter and the administration of Baptism; and, lastly, that they should join with him in preaching to the Saxons; all the British clergy assembled themselves together, Bishops and Priests, in two several Synods one after another, to deliberate hereupon, and after mature consideration they rejected all his propositions synodically, and refused flatly and unanimously to have anything to do with him upon those terms[s]: insomuch as St. Austin was necessitated to return over the seas to obtain his own consecration, and after his return to consecrate the Saxon Bishops alone without the assistance of any other Bishops[t]. They refused indeed to their own cost; twelve hundred innocent monks of Bangor shortly after lost their lives for it[u]; 'Rome was ever builded in

[r] ['*Had been* removed',—viz. from Caerleon to Llandaff by Dubricius in 512; from Llandaff to St. David's or Menevia by St. David in 516: see Spelman's Apparat. ad Concil., p. 25, and for a solution of the difficulty hence arising, Hammond as quoted in note y.]

[s] Spelm., Concil, an. 601. [tom. i. pp. 104-106.]—Galfred. Monum., [De Orig. et Gestis Britann., lib. viii. c. 4.]—Beda, [Hist. Eccles. lib. ii. c. 2.]—et omnes alii.

[t] Respons. Gregor. ad Octav. Quæst. [Augustini,—ap. Spelm., Concil., tom. i. p. 88., from Bede (in whose reckoning the question is the *sixth*), Hist. Eccles., lib. i. c. 28. See also the beginning of the same chapter, and c. 29.]

[u] Bed. [Hist. Eccles., lib. ii. c. 2.]

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blood;' howsoever these words,—"*quamvis Augustino prius mortuo*"—have since been forged and inserted into Venerable Bede, to palliate the matter, which are wanting in the Saxon copy[x]. The concurring testimonies of all our historiographers witnessing the absolute and unanimous refusal of the Britons to submit to Rome, and the matter of fact itself, do confirm this for an undoubted truth beyond all exception[y]. So clear a truth it is, that the British Churches for the first three hundred years neither owed nor paid any subjection to Rome. Whence might well proceed that answer of Eleutherius to King Lucius (if that epistle be not counterfeit) when he 85
desired him to send over a copy of the Roman laws, "that he should choose a law" ecclesiastical "out of Holy Writ by the Council of his kingdom," that is, principally of his Bishops; "for," saith he, "you are the Vicar of Christ in your kingdom[z]:"—the same in effect which is contained in the laws of Edward the Confessor. Hence it is that both our histories and our laws do style our Archbishops "Primates," which in the language of the primitive times signifies as much as Patriarchs, and sometimes call them expressly by the very name of Patriarchs itself[a]. Hence Urban the Second entertained and welcomed Anselm, our Archbishop of Canterbury,
[A.D. 1097.] into the Council of Barre, "*tanquam alterius orbis Papam*"—"as the Pope of another world[b]," or, as others relate the passage, as "the Apostle of another world, and a Patriarch worthy to be reverenced[c]."

[x] Antiquit. Brit. [Eccles., p. 48.—Wheloc's Bede, p. 114. The exact words inserted are these,—"*quamvis ipso jam multo ante tempore ad cœlestia regna sublato.*"]

[y] [For the authority and authenticity of this account of Dinoth, see Spelman as before quoted,—Hammond's "Account of H. T. his Appendix to his Manual of Controversies concerning the Abbot of Bangor's Answer to Augustine" (Works, vol. ii.),—Stillingfleet's Orig. Brit., in fin.,—Bingham, Orig. Eccles., bk. ix. c. 1. § 12.—and Bramhall's "Reply to S. W.'s Refutation," &c., sect. iv., and Schism Guarded, Sect. iv. in fin., Discourses iii. and iv. Part i.]

[z] [Epist. Domini Eleutherii Lucio Reg. Britann., ap. Lambard., De Priscis Anglor. Legibus, p. 142.]

[a] Malmesb., De Gest. Pontif. Anglor., Prolog. ad lib. [i.]—Gloss. Juris [P. i.] Distinct. xxi. c. "Cleros" [scil. c. 1. See Twysden's Histor. Vindic., c. iii. p. 18.]

[b] [Malmesb., De Gest. Pontif. Anglor., lib. i. in Vit. Anselm.—Gervas. Dorobern., p. 1327. ap. Twysden, Histor. Anglic. Scriptor. Decem.]

[c] [Eadmer in Vitâ Anselmi, lib. ii. p. 20. E., in fin. Op. Anselm. ed. Bened.]

CHAP. VI.

THAT THE KING AND CHURCH OF ENGLAND HAD BOTH SUFFICIENT AUTHORITY AND SUFFICIENT GROUNDS TO WITHDRAW THEIR OBEDIENCE FROM ROME, AND DID IT WITH DUE MODERATION.

I. So, from the persons who made the separation, from the laws and statutes of our realm which warranted the separation, and from the ancient liberties and privileges of the Britannic Churches, I proceed to my fourth ground, drawn from the imperial prerogatives of our sovereign princes;—that though we should wave all the other advantages, yet they had power to alter, in the external discipline and regiment of the Church, whatsoever was of human institution, for the benefit and advantage of the body politic.

I. Sovereign princes have *power* to alter whatsoever is of human institution in ecclesiastical discipline.

Doctor Holden proposeth the case right by way of objection;—"But peradventure the Protestants will say, that the king or supreme senate of every kingdom or commonwealth have power to make laws and statutes, by which, either directly, or at least indirectly, as well the clergy as the laity of that kingdom or commonwealth, are bound to reject all foreign jurisdiction, superiority, and dependence; and that this legislative power is essentially annexed to every kingdom and commonwealth, seeing that otherwise they cannot prevent those dangers which may spring and issue from that fountain to their destruction and ruin [d]."

The Protestants do say so indeed without all peradventure, upon that very ground which is alleged in the objection. Neither do the Protestants want the suffrage of Roman Catholics therein. "Because human nature," saith one, "cannot be destitute of necessary remedies to its own preservation [e]." And another, "to whom a kingdom is granted, of necessity all things are esteemed to be granted without which a kingdom cannot be governed: and a kingdom cannot be governed, unless the king enjoy this power even over clerks," &c. [e] Necessary remedies are no remedies unless they be

[d] Append. de Schism., art. 4. p. 526.

[e] Suarez, [De Legibus,] lib. iii., De Primatu Summi Pontif., c. i. num. 4. et Morla in Empor. Jur., P. i. tit. [1. "De Legibus," quæst. I. num. 20.]—citati a Sanctâ Clarâ in art. 37. [pp. 409, 410. S. Clara has quoted the wrong *title* but the right *chapter* in Suarez, and in both cases has given the sense and not the precise words of his author.]

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just, but worse than the disease: and being just, the subject is obliged to active obedience.

But let us see what the Doctor pleads in answer to his own objection.

[True case of England against Rome.]

1. First, he passeth by "the native power of civil sovereign empire," which ought not to have been omitted; for therein consists the main force of the argument. But 'as to the ecclesiastical part,' he saith he 'could demonstrate clearly, if it were needful,' that 'the dependence of Bishops and other orthodox Christians upon the Pope, being rightly conceived as it is and as it is really necessary according to the certain and true principles of Catholic religion, doth not bring any the least shadow of danger to the commonwealth, though in hostility with the Pope, or of a different communion from the Pope[f].' If we lived in Plato's commonwealth, where every one did his duty, this reason were of more force. Far be it from us to imagine, that the right exercise of any lawful power, grounded upon the certain and true principles of Catholic religion, should be dangerous to any society. But this is not our case. What if the Bishops and Court of Rome 86 have swerved from those certain and true principles of Catholic religion? or have abused that power which was committed to their trust by Christ, or by His Church? or have usurped more authority than did belong unto them? or have engrossed all Episcopal jurisdiction to themselves, leaving the Bishops of the land but ciphers in their own dioceses? or have hazarded the utter ruin and destruction of the Church by their simony, extortion, provisions, reservations, and exemptions? or have obtruded new unwarrantable oaths upon the subjects, inconsistent with their allegiance? or have drained the kingdom of its treasure by pecuniary avaricious arts? or have challenged to themselves a negative voice against the right heir of the crown; or authority to depose a crowned king, and absolve his subjects from their oaths and allegiance to their sovereigns? and have shewed themselves incorrigible in all these things. This is our case. In any one of these cases, much more in them all conjoined, it is not only lawful, but very necessary, for Christian princes to reform such gross abuses, and to free themselves and their

[f] Append. de Schism., pp. 526, 527.

subjects from such a tyrannical yoke; if they can, by the direction of a general Council, if not, of a provincial. And it is not schism but loyalty in their subjects to yield obedience.

Protestants in their reformation have altered no articles of religion nor sacred rites, nor violated charity.

2. The same author proceeds, that 'no civil power, how sovereign soever, can correct the fundamental articles of Christian faith, nor pervert the order of sacred rites received by universal tradition as instituted by Christ, nor justify any thing by their edicts which is against Christian charity[g].' To all this we do readily assent, and never did presume to arrogate to ourselves or to exercise any such power. But still this is wide from our case. What if the Bishop of Rome have presumed to coin and attempted to obtrude upon us new articles of Faith, as he hath in his new Creed, and to pervert the sacred rites instituted by Christ, as in his withholding the Cup from the laity? Then without doubt not we, but he, is guilty of the schism. Then it is lawful to separate from him in his innovations, without incurring the crime of schism. This is laid down by the author himself as an "evident conclusion," and we thank him for it; that 'it is necessary for every Christian to acknowledge no authority under Heaven, either ecclesiastical or civil, that hath power to abrogate those things that are revealed and instituted by Christ, or to determine those things which are opposite unto them,' "*quod schismatis origo foret*"—"which should be the original of schism[h]." But where that author infers as a corollary from the former proposition, that 'no edict of a sovereign prince can justify schism, because all schism is destructive to Christian charity[i];' I must crave leave with all due respect to his person, to his learning, to his moderation, and to his charity, to rectify that mistake. If by "schism" he understand *criminal* schism, that which he saith is most true; that were not only to 'justify the wicked,' which is "an abomination to the Lord," but to justify wickedness itself. But every separation, or schism taken in a large sense, is not criminal, nor at all destructive to Christian charity. Sometimes it is a necessary, Christian, charitable, duty. In all cases that I have supposed above,

[Prov. xvii. 15.]

[g] [Ibid.] p. 528.
[h] [Ibid.] p. 533.
[i] [Ibid.] p. 528.

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But it may be urged, that this proceeds from the merit of the cause, not from the authority of the sovereign prince.

I answer, it proceeds from both. Three things are necessary to make a public reformation lawful; just grounds, due moderation, and sufficient authority. There may be just grounds without sufficient authority; and sufficient authority without just grounds; and both sufficient authority and just grounds without due moderation. But where these three things concur, it justifies the reformation before God and man, and renders that separation lawful, which otherwise were schismatical.

Nor swerved from the law of nature, or positive laws of God.

3. Lastly, it is alleged, that 'the power of the sovereign magistrate is not so absolute that he can command any thing at his pleasure, so as to oblige his subjects to obedience, in things repugnant to the law of nature, or the positive law of God [k].' No orthodox Christian can doubt of this truth. The authority of the inferior ceaseth, where the superior declareth his pleasure to the contrary. "*Da veniam Imperator, tu carcerem, Ille gehennam minatur*"—"Pardon me, O Emperor, thou threatenest me with imprisonment, but God Almighty with hell fire [l]." But this is nothing to our case. Neither the law of nature, nor the law of God, doth enjoin 87 British Christians to buy pardons and indulgences and dispensations and Bulls and palls and privileges at Rome, contrary to the fundamental laws of the realm. Boniface the Eighth by his Bull exempted the University of Oxford from the jurisdiction of the Archbishop of Canterbury, whereupon did grow a controversy between Thomas Arundel Archbishop, and the University; and the said Bull was decreed to be void by two successive kings, Richard the Second, and Henry the Fourth, in Parliament, as being obtained "*in præjudicium coronæ suæ, et legum et consuetudinum regni sui enervationem*"—"to the prejudice of his imperial crown, and to the weakening of the laws and customs of his realm [m]."

[k] [Ibid.] p. 530.

[l] Augustin. [De Verb. Domini, Serm. lxii., tom. v. p. 362. F.]

[m] Ex Archivis Turris Londinensis citat author Antiquitat. Acad. Cantab. [scil. Joh. Caius, lib. ii. p. 71. ed. 1574.]

But this disobedience to the decrees of sovereign princes must be joined with passive obedience; it must be only when and where their commands are evidently unjust; such as Pharaoh's commanding the Hebrew midwives to kill all the male children, or Saul's enjoining his guard to slay the Priests of the Lord, or like Nebuchadnezzar's idolatrous edict, charging all men to fall down and worship his golden image. For otherwise, if the case be doubtful, it is a rule in case-divinity, '*subditi tenentur in favorem legis judicare*'—'subjects are bound to judge in favour of the law;' otherwise they run into a certain crime of disobedience, for fear of an uncertain. A war may be unjust in the prince, and yet the soldier be guiltless. Nor is the subject obliged to sift the grounds of his sovereign's commands too narrowly. It happens often that "*reum facit principem iniquitas imperandi, innocentem subditum ordo serviendi*[n]"—'The prince may be unjust in his commands, and yet the subject innocent in his obedience.' Take the case at the worst, it must be doubtful at the least, the Pope's sovereignty and the jurisdiction of the Roman Court being rejected by three parts of the Christian world, and so unanimously shaken off by three kingdoms. And in such a case, who is fittest to be judge? the Pope, the people, or the king? Not the Pope; he is the person accused, and '*frustrà expectatur cujuslibet authoritas contra seipsum*'—'it is in vain to expect that one should employ his authority against himself.' Not the people; would a judge take it well that a gaoler should detain the prisoner from execution, until he were satisfied of the justice of his sentence? or a pilot, that he may not move his rudder according to the alterable face of the heavens, but at the discretion of the ordinary mariners? No; whensoever any question hath been moved between any kingdom or republic of what communion soever and the Court of Rome, concerning the liberties and privileges of the one, or the extortions and encroachments of the other, they have evermore assumed the last judicature to themselves, as of right it doth belong unto them.

In cases doubtful we may not disobey the king and the laws. Exod. i. 17. 1 Sam. xxii. 17. [Dan. iii.]

Unjust commands may be justly obeyed.

1. The Romanists themselves do acknowledge, that sovereign princes, by the law of God and nature, not only may

Princes are obliged to protect

[n] Augustin. [Cont. Faust. Manich., lib. xxii. c. 75. tom. viii. p. 405. G.]

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their subjects from the tyranny of ecclesiastical judges.

but are in justice obliged to oppose the tyranny of ecclesiastical judges, and to protect and free their subjects from their violence and oppression. Parsons himself wondereth, that any man should deny this power to kings in their own kingdoms[o]. But we are fully satisfied and assured, that that universal power which the Pope claims by Divine right over all Christians, and particularly over the Britannic Churches, without their consents, and much more that jurisdiction, which *de facto* he did or at least would have exercised there (and less than which he would not go) to the destruction of their natural and Christian liberties and privileges, was, and is, a tyrannical and oppressive yoke. If all Christians were as well satisfied of the truth of this our assumption as we are, this controversy were at an end. And thus far all Roman Catholics not interessed, nor prepossessed with prejudice, do accord fully with us, that by whomsoever Papal power was given (whether by Christ, or His Apostles, or the Fathers of the Church in succeeding ages), it was given for edification, not for destruction; and that the Roman Court in later days hath sought to impose grievous, oppressive, and intolerable burthens upon their subjects, which it is lawful for them to shake off without regarding their censure, as we shall see in the next proposition. But because all are not so well satisfied about the just extent of Papal authority and power, we must search a little higher.

Kings may exercise external acts of ecclesiastical jurisdiction by fit delegates.

2. Secondly, we do both agree, that sovereign princes may be enabled and authorised, either by concession or by prescription for time immemorial (perhaps it were more properly said, by virtue of their sovereign authority over the whole body politic, whereof the clergy are a part), to exercise all external acts of ecclesiastical coercive jurisdiction, by themselves, or at least by fit delegates, "*præcipiendo suis subditis sacerdotibus, ut excommunicent rebelles et contumaces.*" And this is asserted in the case of Abbesses, which being women are less capable of any spiritual jurisdiction[p]. The truth is, that as all ecclesiastical courts and all ecclesiastical coercive

[o] Parsons [Answer to Lord Coke's Reports, in Henry IV., c. 13. § 18. pp. 520, 521.], Cajetanus [Apolog. de Potest. Papæ et Concil, c. 27.], &c. citati a Sanctâ Clarâ in Art. 37. pp. [410, 411.]

[p] Sancta Clara [as before quoted, pp. 406, 407.]

jurisdiction did flow at first, either from the bounty and goodness of sovereign princes to the Church, or from their connivance, or from the voluntary consent and free submission of Christians (*'volenti non fit injuria'*—consent takes away error)—I except always that jurisdiction which is purely spiritual, and an essential part of the power of the Keys, whereof emperors and kings are not capable;—so, whensoever the weal-public and the common safety of their people doth require it, for advancement of public peace and tranquillity and for the greater ease and convenience of the subject in general, according to the vicissitude and conversion of human affairs and the change of monarchies, they may, upon well-grounded experience, in a national Synod or Council, more advisedly retract what their predecessors had advisedly granted or permitted; and alter the face and rules of the external discipline of the Church, in all such things as are but of human right, when they become hurtful or impeditive of a greater good: in which cases their subjects may with good conscience and are bound in duty to conform themselves to their laws. Otherwise kingdoms and societies should want necessary remedies for their own preservation, which is granted by both parties to be an absurdity.

The emperors of old did the same.

Weigh all the parts of ecclesiastical discipline, and consider what one there is which Christian emperors of old did not either exercise by themselves or by their delegates, or did not regulate by their laws, or both; concerning the privileges and revenues of Holy Church, the calling of Councils, the presiding in Councils, the dissolving of Councils, the confirming of Councils; concerning Holy Orders; concerning the patronage of, and nomination to, ecclesiastical benefices and dignities; concerning the jurisdiction, the suspension, deposition, and ordering of Bishops, and Priests, and monks, and generally all persons in Holy Orders; concerning appeals; concerning religion and the rites and ceremonies thereof; concerning the Creeds or common symbols of faith; concerning heresy, schism, judaism, the suppression of sects; against swearing, cursing, blaspheming, profaneness, and idolatry; concerning Sacraments, sanctuaries, simony, marriages, divorces, and generally all things which are of ecclesiastical cognizance: wherein he that desires satisfaction, and particu-

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larly to see how the coercive power of ecclesiastical courts and judges did flow from the gracious concessions of Christian princes, may (if he be not too much possessed with prejudice) resolve himself by reading the first book of the Code, the Authentics or Novels of Justinian the Emperor, and the Capitulars of Charles the Great, and his successors kings of France. "We have been requested," said Justinian, "by Menna the Archbishop of this city, beloved of God, and universal Patriarch, to grant this privilege to the most reverend clerks," &c. in pecuniary causes, referring them first to the Bishop, and, if he could not compose or determine the difference, then to the secular judge; and, in criminal causes, if the crime were civil, to the civil magistrate; if ecclesiastical, to the Bishop [q]. "By the Council of our Bishops and nobles" (said Charles the Great) "we have ordained Bishops throughout the cities" (that is, we have commanded and authorised it to be done), "and do decree to assemble a Synod every year, that in our presence the canonical decrees and laws of the Church may be restored [r]." I beseech you, what did our King Henry and the Church of England more at the Reformation?

[That is, under civil pains.]

It is true, sovereign princes are not said properly to make canons, because they do not prescribe them under pain of excommunication or suspension or degradation or any spiritual punishment. But to affirm that they cannot make ecclesiastical constitutions under a civil pain, or that they cannot (especially with the advice and concurrence of their clergy assembled in a national Synod) reform errors and abuses, and remedy encroachments and usurpations and innovations, either in Faith or discipline, and regulate the new canons or customs of intruders and upstarts by the old canons of the primitive Fathers,—is contrary to the sense 89 and practice of all antiquity. King Solomon deposed Abiathar from the High Priesthood, and put Zadoc in his place.

[1 Kings ii. 35.]

Popes convented, imprisoned, deposed, by emperors.

Nor want we precedents of Popes themselves who have been conventced before emperors, as Sixtus the Third before Valentinian, though Platina [s] mince the matter a little too much

[q] [Auth., Collat. vi.] Novel. 83. [tit. 12. "Ut Clerici apud proprios Episcopos," &c.]

[r] Carol. M. Capitul. lib. v. [c. 2., ap. Lindenbrog., Cod. Legg. Antiq., p. 924.]

[s] [Platin. in Vitâ Sixti III., p. 58, 2.]

(*"damnatur Bassus calumniator iniquus annuente Valentiniano,"* &c.), Leo the Third before Charles the Great [t]: that have been banished by emperors; as Liberius unjustly banished by Constantius, and more unjustly restored [u]; Sylverius justly banished by Justinian [x]: that have been imprisoned by sovereign princes, as Pope John the First by Theodoric [y]: that have been deposed by them; as John the Twelfth by Otho the Great [z], and Gregory the Sixth by Henry the Second,—*"Henricus Secundus in Italiam cum magno exercitu veniens, habitâ Synodo, cùm Benedictum Nonum, Sylvestrum Tertium, Gregorium Sextum, tanquam tria teterrima monstra, abdicare se magistratu coegisset,"* &c.—"Henry the Second coming into Italy with a great army, having convocated a Synod, when he had compelled Benedict the Ninth, Sylvester the Third, and Gregory the Sixth, as three most filthy monsters, to quit their government, he created Syndeger Bishop of Bamberge, afterwards Clement the Second, Pope [a]." Of old when any schism did infest the Roman Church (as I think no See in the world hath been oftener rent asunder by pretenders to the Papacy), the emperors, when they pleased, did assume unto themselves the cognizance thereof, and determine the succession either by themselves or by their exarch or delegates: as Honorius between Boniface the First and Eulalius [b]; Theodoric the King between Symmachus and Laurentius [c]; the Exarch of Ravenna between Sergius the First and Paschalis [d]; Otho the Third between John the Seventeenth and Gregory the Fifth [e]. But when these imperial acts are done in Synods, they are more authentic, and more conform to antiquity.

The Council of Tours [with S. Clara] allows to withdraw obedience from the Pope in certain cases.

3. Thirdly, our learned and ingenuous countryman Davenport, under the name of *Franciscus à Sanctâ Clarâ* (far be it from me to censure Christian charity and moderation for lukewarmness, or atheistical neutrality, like those whose chief religion consists in crying up a faction; I rather wish

[t] [Id. in V. Leon. III., p. 119, 1.]
[u] [Id. in V. Liber., p. 46, 1, 2.]
[x] [Id. in V. Sylver., pp. 70, 2. 71, 1.]
[y] [Id. in V. Joh. I., p. 67, 2.]
[z] [Id. in V. Joh. XIII. (according to Platina's reckoning), p. 145, 1, 2.]
[a] Id. in V. Greg. VI. [p. 158, 1.]
[b] Id. in V. Bonif. I. [p. 56, 1.]
[c] Id. in V. Symm. [I., pp. 64, 2. 65, 1.]
[d] [Id. in V. Serg. I., p. 96, 1.]
[e] [Id. in V. Greg. V., p. 151, 2.—John XVII. being reckoned by Plat. as John XVIII.]

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he had been more universally acquainted with our English doctrine), in his Paraphrastical Exposition of our English Articles, to this question, "How and whether it be lawful in points of faith to appeal from the Pope, and to decline his judgment?" cites the resolution of Gerson in these words following, "*Hoc etiam practicatum est per quoscunque reges et principes,*" &c.—"this also hath been practised by all kings and princes, who have withdrawn themselves from the obedience of those, whom such or such did judge to be Popes; which substractions nevertheless were approved by the sacred Council of Constance, some expressly, some implicitly[f]."

An. 1110. The most Christian King Lewis the Twelfth convocated a national Council of the French Church at Tours, wherein sundry articles were proposed, deliberated of, and concluded, touching these affairs. The third article was, that if the Pope should invade another prince in a hostile manner, and excite other princes to invade his territories, whether that prince might not lawfully withdraw himself from the obedience of such a Pope?—(where observe, that though this case alone be specified, as being fitted to that present controversy between the King of France and the Pope, yet all other cases of the same nature or consequence are included;)—and, "*Conclusum est per Concilium principem posse ab obedientiâ Papæ se subducere ac substrahere; non tamen in totum, et indistinctè, sed pro tuitione tantùm ac defensione jurium suorum temporalium*"—"it was concluded by the Council, that the prince might withdraw himself from the obedience of the Pope; yet not totally, nor indistinctly, but only for the defence of his temporal rights[g]." The fourth proposition was, when such a substraction was lawfully made, what the prince and his subjects, more particularly Prelates and other ecclesiastics, ought to do in such things, for which they had formerly had recourse to the Apostolic See? and, "*Conclusum est per Concilium servandum esse jus commune antiquum, et Pragmaticam Sanctionem regni, ex decretis sacrosancti Concilii Basiliensis desumptam*"—"it was concluded by the Council,

[f] p. [415. from Gerson, Tract. "Quomodo et an liceat in causis fidei a S. Pontif. appellare," § "Sequeretur sexto," Op. P. i. fol. 85, Y.]

[g] Concil. Turon. [A. D. 1510.] Respons. ad Artic. 3. [ap. Labb., Concil., tom. xiii. p. 1482.]

that the ancient common right was to be preserved, and the Pragmatical Sanction of the kingdom, taken out of the decrees of the sacred Council of Basil [h]." The eighth proposition was, if the Pope, proceeding unjustly and by force, should pronounce any censures against such a prince, whether they ought to be obeyed? and, "*Conclusum est unanimiter per Concilium talem sententiam nullam esse nec de jure vel alio quocunque modo ligare*"—"it was concluded unanimously by the Council, that such a sentence was of no force, not binding in law, or any other way [i];" which opinion or resolution of theirs, the above-mentioned author saith, he ought not to condemn whilst the Church doth tolerate it [k].

Behold a principal cause of the separation of the English Church from the Pope, the usurpation and encroachments of the Roman Court upon the political rights of the crown, which they would not let go, until they were quite shaken off.

Princes may reform new canons by old.

Antonius de Rosellis, a zealous asserter of the Papal authority, concludes, that 'the Pope being a heretic, or an apostate, though but in secret, it is lawful (without any sentence or declaration preceding) for any of his subjects that know it, especially for kings and princes, to depart from him and withdraw themselves from under his power, by that natural right which they have to defend themselves [l].' This may well be doubted of in the case of private persons, before sentence, by those who believe him to be constituted by Christ the sovereign monarch of the universal Church: but in the case of sovereign princes with provincial Councils, when general Councils cannot be had; and much more when general Councils have given their sentence formerly in the case (as the Councils of Constance and Basil have done concerning the Papacy [m]); and with us who are sufficiently resolved that St. Peter had no pre-eminence above his fellows but only principality of order and 'the beginning of unity,' and that whatsoever power the Bishop of Rome hath more than any other Bishop,

[h] [Id.] Respons. ad Artic. 4. [ibid.]

[i] [Id.] Respons. ad Artic. 8. [ibid.]

[k] [S. Clara, p. 415.—speaking of the 3rd, and not of the 8th, article.]

[l] In [Monarchiâ sive] Tract. de Potest. Imperator. et Papæ. [P. ii. cc. 25. 27., ap. Goldast., Monarch. Roman. Imper., tom. i. pp. 372. 376.]

[m] [Concil. Constant. (A. D. 1415.) Sess. xii. ap. Labb., Concil., tom. xii. pp. 94, &c.—Concil. Basil. (A.D.1431.) Sess. iii. Decret. 3. ibid. p. 477.]

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it is merely from the customs of the Catholic Church, or from the canons of the Fathers, or from the edicts of princes, and may be taken away upon sufficient grounds by equal authority to that by which it was acquired; I say, in this our case there can be no doubt at all. And yet it can much less be doubted whether a sovereign prince with a national Synod may remedy the encroachments and usurpations of the Roman Court within his own dominions, or exclude new Creeds and new articles of Faith, lately devised and obtruded, contrary to the determination of the general Council of Ephesus[n]; of which let us hear what is Dr. Holden's opinion,—"*Notum est inter Catholicos omnes tanquam axioma certissimum,*" &c.—'It is known that all Catholics do hold this as a most certain axiom, that nothing ought or may be maintained for a Christian revealed truth, but that which was received by our ancestors, and delivered from one generation to another by continued succession from the times of the Apostles[o].' This is all that we have done, and done it with due submission to the highest judge of ecclesiastical controversies upon earth, that is, a general Council. If the Court of Rome will be humorous, like little children, who, because they cannot have some toy that they have a mind to, do cast away all that their parents have given them, we cannot help it.

Patriarchal power subject to imperial.

Over and above all the former grounds, which the Romanists themselves do in some sort acknowledge, I propose this further, that Patriarchal power in external things is subject and subordinate to imperial. When Mauritius the Emperor had made a law that no soldier should turn monk until his warfare were accomplished, St. Gregory Bishop of Rome disliked the law, and represented his sense of it to the emperor, but withal according to his duty published it:—"*Ego quidem missioni* [legend. *jussioni*] *subjectus eandem legem per diversas terrarum partes transmitto, et quia lex ipsa omnipotenti Deo minime concordat, ecce per suggestionis meæ paginam dominis nunciavi; utrobique ergo quæ debui exolvi, qui et imperatori obedientiam præbui, et pro Deo quid sensi minimè tacui*[p]"—

[n] [Act. Concil. Ephes.] P. ii. Act. 6. c. 7. [ap. Labb., Concil., tom. iii. p. 689. A.]

[o] De Resolut. Fidei, lib. i. c. 8. Sect. 5. p. 152.

[p] [Greg. M. Epist.] lib. ii. Ep. 62. [editt. before Bened.—lib. iii. Ep. 65. tom. ii. p. 677. B. ed. Bened.]

"I being subject to your command have transmitted your law to be published through divers parts of the world; and because the law itself is not pleasing to Almighty God, I have represented my opinion thereof to my lords; wherefore I have performed my duty on both sides, in yielding obedience to the emperor, and not concealing what I thought for God." A most rare and Christian precedent of that great Patriarch, and fit for our observation and imitation in these days: he acknowledged the emperor to be his lord, and himself to be subject to his commands; and though no human invention can warrant an act that is morally evil in itself, yet, if it be only impeditive of a greater good, as that blessed Saint did take this law to be, the command of a sovereign doth weigh down the scale, and obligeth a Patriarch to obedience in a matter that concerns religion. How much more doth the command of the English monarch and the English Church disoblige an English subject from a foreign Patriarch, whose original right is but human at the most, and, in the case in question between Rome and England, none at all!

Emperors have changed Patriarchs.

91 But to come up yet closer to the question. The general Councils of Constantinople and Chalcedon, with the presence, concurrence, and confirmation, of Theodosius the Great and Marcian the emperors, notwithstanding the opposition of the Roman Bishop by his legates, did advance the Bishop of Constantinople from being a poor Suffragan under the Metropolitan of Heraclea to be the second Patriarch, and equal in dignity, power, and all manner of privileges, to the first, and assigned unto him for his Patriarchate Pontus and Asia the less and Thracia and some other countries, part of which territories they substracted from the obedience of the Roman Bishop (at least over which the Roman Bishops challenged jurisdiction), and part from other Patriarchs. And the reason of this alteration was the same for which Cæsarea of old was a long time preferred before Hierusalem, and Alexandria before Antioch, and Rome before all others; to conform the ecclesiastical regiment to the political,—because Constantinople was made of a mean city the seat of the Eastern Empire, and had as many dioceses and provinces subject unto it as old Rome itself[q].

[q] Concil. Constantin. can. 3. et Concil. Chalcedon. can. 28. [see p. 130, note u.]

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By their [own] authority.

But lest it may be conceived, that this was not done at all by imperial power, but by the authority of the Œcumenical Synods, we may observe further, that Justinian the emperor by his sole sovereign legislative power did new-found the Patriarchate of *Justiniana Prima*, and assign a province unto it, and endow it with most ample privileges, freeing it from all appeals and all acknowledgment of superiority, giving the Bishop thereof equal power with that which the Bishop of Rome had in his Patriarchate [r]. The same privileges and prerogatives were given by the same emperor, by the same legislative authority, to the Bishop of Carthage, notwithstanding that the Bishops of Rome did always pretend that Carthage was under their jurisdiction [s]. I deny not that Vigilius and Gregory, succeeding Popes, did make deputations to the Bishop of Justiniana, to supply their places [t]. But this was but an old Roman fineness. The Bishops of Justiniana needed none of their commissions. Justinian the father and founder of the imperial law knew well enough how far his legislative power did extend. And though the act was notorious to the whole world, and inserted into the body of the law, yet the Fathers of that age did not complain of any innovation, or usurpation, or breach of their privileges, or violation of their rights.

English kings as sovereign as the emperors.

King Henry the Eighth had the same imperial power, and was as much a sovereign in his own kingdoms, as Justinian the emperor in his larger dominions (as William Rufus, son and successor of the Conqueror, said most truly, that 'the kings of England have all those liberties in their own kingdoms, which the emperors had in the empire [u]'), and had as much authority to exempt his own subjects from the jurisdiction of one Patriarch, and transfer them to another; especially with the advice, consent, and concurrence of a national Synod. So King Arthur his predecessor removed the Primacy from Caerleon to St. David's [x], and another of them [y] to

[r] Novel. 11. [tit. vii. "De Privileg. Archiep. Justinianæ," &c.] et Novel. 131. [tit. xiv. "De Eccles. Titulis," &c. c. 3.]

[s] Novel. 131. [tit. xiv. c. 4.]

[t] [See p. 138, note u.]

[u] Matth. Paris. [Hist. Angl. in an. 1095. p. 19.]

[x] [See p. 163, note r.]

[y] [Viz. Henry I., who subjected the See of St David's to that of Canterbury. See Girald. Camb., De Jure et Statu Menevens. Eccles., in Wharton's Angl. Sacra, tom. ii. pp. 514, &c., and Itiner. Camb., lib. ii. c. 1.—Ann. of Gisb., ap. Spelman., Appar. ad Concil., p. 26,—

Canterbury, for the advantage of their subjects according to the exigence of the times.

If the Pope had been the king of England's subject, as former Popes were the emperors', he might have served him as they did some of his predecessors; called a Council, regulated him, and reduced him to order and reason; or, if he proved incorrigible, have deposed him. But the Pope being a stranger, all that he could justly do, was what he did, rather than to see his royal prerogative daily trampled upon, his laws destroyed, his subjects oppressed; rather than to have new articles of Faith daily obtruded upon the English Church; rather than to incur the peril of wilful idolatry, against conscience and therefore formal:—to cashier the Roman Court, with all their pardons and indulgences and other alchymistical devices, out of his kingdoms; until time should teach them to content themselves with moderate things, which endure long; or until either a free Œcumenical Council, or an European Synod, should settle controversies, and tune the jarring strings of the Christian world. In the mean time we pity their errors, pray for their amendment, and long for a re-union.

II. Two sorts of *grounds* for substraction of obedience.

II. Now the just grounds of such subduction or separation are of two sorts; either the personal faults of the Popes or their ministers, as in the case of simony and schism, which ought in justice to reflect upon none but the persons who are guilty; or else they are faulty principles and rules, as
92 well in point of doctrine as of discipline, such as the obtruding of new Creeds, the pressing of unlawful oaths, and the palpable usurpation of the undoubted rights of others: and these do justify and warrant a more permanent separation, that is, until they be reformed. Wherefore, having taken a view of the sufficiency of the authority of our princes to reform, in the next place it is worthy of our serious consideration what were the true grounds of the separation of the kingdom and Church of England from the Court of Rome; and, secondly, whether in the subduction or substraction of their obedience or communion they observed due moderation.

Collier, Eccl. Hist., Pt. i. bk. iii. vol. i. p. 201.—and Bramhall's Schism Guarded, sect. iv. (Works, p. 378. fol. edit.) Discourse iv. Part i.]

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1. The grounds of their separation were many. First; the intolerable extortions and excessive rapine of the Court of Rome, committed in that realm by their legates and nuncios and commissioners and collectors and other inferior officers and harpies, enough to impoverish the kingdom, and to drain out of it all the treasure that was in it, and leave it as bare as a grasshopper in winter, by their indulgences and pardons for all kind of sin at a certain rate registered in their penitentiary tax [z]. Yea, as Ticelius, the Pope's pardoner, made his brag in Germany, though a man had "ravished the Mother of God," yet "so soon as the money did but clink in the bottom of the bason, presently the soul flew out of purgatory [a]." To these we may add their dispensations of all sorts, and commutations, and absolutions, and contributions, and reservations, and tenths, and first-fruits, and appeals, and palls: and a thousand other artifices to get money; as provisions, collations, exemptions, canonizations, divolutions, revocations, unions, commendams, tolerations, pilgrimages, jubilees [b]. "*Nulla hic arcana revelo,*" saith Mantuan,

Our first ground. [viz. the extortions and rapine of the Court of Rome.]

[i. e. Tetzel.]

"*Venalia nobis*
"*Templa, sacerdotes, altaria, sacra, coronæ,*
"*Ignis, thura, preces; cœlum est venale, Deusque* [c]."

'Temples, priests, altars, mitres, Holy Orders, prayers, masses, Heaven, and God Himself, are saleable at Rome.' It is no marvel; 'they that buy must sell.' And whilst I am writing these things, comes fresh intelligence of a book lately set forth "*De Simoniâ præsentis Pontificis* [d]," (they say) not penned, but dictated, by such as know right well the most secret cabals and intrigues of the Conclave: "*Nam propius fama est hos tangere Divos*"; which I can easily impute more to the fault of the place, than of the man. The oblation of the Body and Blood of Christ is sold; fastings and penitentiary works are sold,—"*qui non potest jejunare per se, potest*

[z] [See p. 56, note h.]

[a] Chemnit., Exam. Concil. Trident. [P. iv. p. 87, a.]

[b] [A full account of the payments to the Papacy from England may be seen in Twysden's Histor. Vindic., c. iv. Divolution, more correctly devolution, signifies a "removal from hand to hand" (Johnson), as, e. g., by appeal from a lower court to a higher.]

[c] Mantuan. [De Calamit. Tempor., lib. iii. vv. 101. 120—122.]

[d] [Viz. Innocent X., who died in 1655.]

jejunare per alium, vel potest dare nummum pro jejunio;" the merits of the Saints being alive are sold, their relics being dead are sold; scapulars and monastic garments are sold. The Jews with their oxen, sheep, and doves, were but petty merchants in comparison of these great bankers. Did any man desire a pall? the law itself did direct them what to do, "*Pallium non datur nisi fortiter postulanti*[e]"—'the pall would not be given but to those that knocked hard' with a silver hammer. Was any man a suppliant to the Court of Rome? Matthew Paris puts him into a right way; "*Tunc Sedes clementissima, quæ nulli deesse consuevit dummodo albi aliquid vel rubei intercedat, præscriptos Pontifices et Abbates ad pristinas dignitates misericorditer revocavit*[f]"—"then the most pitiful See, which is not accustomed to be wanting to any suppliants, so they bring white or yellow advocates along with them, did mercifully restore the said Bishops and Abbots to their former dignities." It is almost incredible, what a mass of treasure they collected out of England in a short time only from investitures and some other exactions from Bishops; in four years, no less than a hundred and sixty thousand pounds sterling, as was found by inquisition[g]. Archbishop Cranmer paid for his Bulls that concerned his consecration, and pall, nine hundred ducats[h]; to such a height were the extortions of the Roman Court mounted. '*Ex ungue leonem;*'—judge by this what the Pope's yearly income or revenue out of England might be, by all these arts which we have formerly mentioned, and many more; sometimes under pretence of recovering the Holy Land; sometimes to relieve the poverty of the Roman Court; sometimes in palfries; sometimes in forged bills of exchange; sometimes in extorted subsidies; 93 sometimes to a certain sum; sometimes to the fifth part of their goods; sometimes to the third part of residents and the half of non-residents; sometimes in yearly revenues, as two prebends of every Bishop, and the value of the maintenance of two monks from every Abbot; sometimes out of the goods of rich clergymen who died intestate; sometimes a year's

[John ii. 14.]

[Testimony of Matth. Paris.]

[e] [Gratian., Decret., P. i.] Distinct. 100. c. 2.

[f] In Hen. I. an. 1130. [p. 59.]

[g] Antiquit. Britann. Eccles., p. 326. [The inquisition was made in the first year of Cranmer's Archbishopric, A.D. 1532. "Four" is a mistake for "forty."]

[h] [Ibid. p. 327.]

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[of Grosthead, Bishop of Lincoln.] Neither was this the complaint of the vulgar only: all conscientious men were of the same mind. Who hath not heard of the bitter complaints and free declamations of Grosthead the learned and religious Bishop of Lincoln, against the tyranny and rapine of the Roman courts, both in the time of his health, and upon his death-bed; for which he was styled "*Romanorum malleus*[k]"—"The hammer of the Romans?" whereby he so much irritated the Pope, that he would have deposed him, and accursed him in his life time, if he had not been dissuaded by his Cardinals in respect of the learning and holiness and deserved reputation of the Bishop[l]; and after his death would have had his corpse disinterred and buried in a dunghill, but that the Bishop appeared to him the night before, and gave him, or seemed to give him, such a shrewd remembrance, partly with words, and partly with his crosier-staff, that the Pope was much

[i] Matth. Paris. in an. 1237. [p. 458.]
[k] Id. in an. 1253. [p. 876.]
[l] Id. in an. 1253. [pp. 872. 875, 876.]

terrified and half dead, so that he could neither eat nor drink the day following [m]. Discourse II.

The Pope excommunicated Sewalus the Archbishop of York with Bell, Book, and Candle; but "*non curavit voluntati Papali relicto juris rigore muliebriter obedire; quapropter, quanto magis præcipiente Papâ maledicebatur, tanto plus a populo benedicebatur, tacitè tamen, propter metum Romanorum* [n]"—"he cared not to submit womanishly to the Pope's will, leaving the strait rule of the law; wherefore the more he was accursed by the Pope's command, the more he was blessed of the people, but secretly for fear of the Romans." In his last sickness he summoned the Pope before the Tribunal of the high and incorruptible Judge, and called Heaven and earth to be his witnesses how unjustly the Pope had oppressed him:—"*Dixit Dominus Petro,*" &c. "The Lord said unto St. Peter, feed my sheep; not clip them, not flay them, not unbowel them, not devour them [o]." [of Sewalus, Archbishop of York.]

They who desire to know what opinion the English had of the greediness and extortion of the Court of Rome, may find them drawn out to the life by Chaucer in sundry places [p]. Such thriving alchymists were never heard of in our days, nor in the days of our forefathers, that with such ease and dexterity could change an ounce of lead into a pound of gold. So they had great reason to say of England that it was a "well that could not be drawn dry [q]." And England had as much reason to whip these buyers and sellers out of the Temple. This complaint is neither new nor particular, as we shall see further in due place. [John ii. 15.]

2. The second ground of our ancestors' separation of themselves from the Court of Rome, were their most unjust usurpations, and daily encroachments and intrenchments, and extreme violations of all sorts of rights, civil and ecclesiastical, sacred and profane. Our second ground. [viz. the usurpations, and violations of all sorts of rights, by the Court of Rome.]

They endeavoured to rob the king of the fairest flowers of his crown: as of his right to convocate Synods, and to confirm Synods, within his own dominions; of his legislative and [Of the rights of the king.]

[m] Id. in an. 1254. [p. 883.]
[n] Id. in an. 1257. [p. 956.]
[o] Id. in an. 1258. [p. 969. "Pasce oves Meas; non tonde, non exeoria, non eviscera, vel devorando consume."]
[p] Ploughman's Tale, and elsewhere.
[q] ["Puteus inexhaustus." Matth. Paris., as quoted in p. 131, note a.]

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judiciary power in ecclesiastical causes; of his political jurisdiction over ecclesiastical persons; of his ecclesiastical feuds and investitures of Bishops; of his just patronages of churches founded by his ancestors; and of the last appeals of his sub- 94
jects. And, as if all this had been too little, taking advantage of King John's troubles, they attempted to make the royal Sceptre of England feudatory and tributary to the Crosier-staff of Rome at the annual rent of a thousand marks[r]. Neither is this the case of England alone, seeing they make the like pretensions in matter of fact almost to all Europe[r]:—to say nothing now of that dominion, which some of them have challenged indirectly, others directly, over sovereign princes; "*Nos imperia, regna, principatus, et quicquid habere mortales possunt, auferre et dare posse*[s]"—"We have power to take away and to give empires, kingdoms, principalities, and whatsoever mortal men can have;" because I confess that it is not generally received by the Roman Church.

[Archpriest Blackwell scandalized at the doctrine of Cardinal Allen.]

Mr. Blackwell, made Archpriest of England by Clement the Eighth, cites[t] Cardinal Allen, with much honour to his memory, but much scandalized at his doctrine, that none can be admitted king of England without the Pope's leave. His words are these; "Without the approbation of the See Apostolic, none can be lawful king or queen of England, by reason of the ancient accord made between Alexander the Third the year 1171 and Henry the Second then king, when he was absolved for the death of St. Thomas of Canterbury, —that no man might lawfully take that crown, nor be accounted as king, till he were confirmed by the sovereign Pastor of our souls which for the time should be: this accord afterwards being renewed about the year 1210 by King John, who confirmed the same by oath to Pandulphus the Pope's legate at the special request and procurement of the Lords and Commons, as a thing most necessary for preservation of the realm from unjust usurpation of tyrants, and avoiding other inconveniences which they had proved, and might easily fall again into by the disorder of some wicked king[u]." To

[r] [L. Andrewes,] Episcop. Eliensis. [Resp. ad Apolog. Card. Bellarm., c. iii. pp. 72-82-87, Lond. 1610.]

[s] Platin. in Vitâ Gregor. VII. [p. 169, l.]

[t] Large Examin. [of G. Blackw., Lond. 1607.] pp. 18, 19.

[u] Admonit. to the Nobility by Card. Allen, [publ. in] 1588. [p. 8. as quoted by Blackwell.]

which he adds with the like disapprobation a like testimony of Stanislaus Christanovic [x], a Polonian author, who infers upon the former ground that the Pope may depose the king of England, as being but a tributary king: his words are these; "*Illud impiè legislatores per jusjurandum extorquent a Catholicis,*" &c.—"The law-makers do impiously by an oath extort this from Catholics, to deny that the king may be deposed by the Pope and his kingdoms and countries by him disposed of. For if by an honourable and pious grant the kingdom have become tributary to the Pope, why may he not dispose of it? Why may he not depose the prince being refractory and disobedient?" Thus a bold stranger altogether ignorant of our histories and of our laws shoots his bolt at all adventures upon the credit of a shameful fiction. But from whom did they learn this lesson? Even from the Pope himself. Bishop Grosthead had been a little bold with the Pope for his extorting courses, calling him "Antichrist," and "murderer of souls [y]," and comparing the Court of Rome to "Behemoth, that putteth his mouth to the river Jordan thinking to drink it up," and styling the oppression of the English nation an "Egyptian bondage [z]." He had good reason; for the Court of Rome in those days was grown past shame (*"rubore deposito* [a]"), and consequently past grace. The Pope irritated with this usage breaks out into this passionate expression, "*Nonne rex Anglorum noster est vasallus, et, ut plus dicam, mancipium?*"—"Is not the king of England our vassal, or rather our slave [b]?" Or rather are these fit guests to be entertained in a kingdom that make no more of our sovereign princes than their vassals and slaves, who can neither be admitted to the crown without their leave, nor hold it but by their grace? [Job xl. 23.]

This relation of Cardinal Allen brings to my remembrance the question of Ncoptolemus to Ulysses, when he should have taught him the art of lying, 'how it was possible for one to tell a lie without blushing [c]?' The Archpriest is much more

[x] Exam. Catholic., fol. 34. [as quoted by Blackwell.]

[y] [Matth. Paris. in an. 1253. p. 871.]

[z] [Id. p. 876. These latter expressions however were used by Grosthead upon his death-bed, subsequently to the violence of the Pope mentioned lower down.]

[a] Id. in an. 1244. [p. 622.]

[b] Id. in an. 1253. [p. 862.]

[c] ["Πῶς οὖν βλέπων τις ταῦτα τολμήσει λαλεῖν;" Soph., Philoct., 110.]

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ingenuous, affirming [d] that the "assertions touching both the said kings for matter of fact were untrue; that Henry the Second never made any such accord with Alexander the Third, for ought that he could ever read in any chronicle of credit;" then that "the oath which Henry the Second did take for himself" (not for his heirs) was this, that he "would not depart from him or his successors, so long as they should intreat him as a Catholic king [e];" that "the fact of King John is of more probability, but of as little truth," which he confirms by the testimony of Sir Thomas More, a Lord Chancellor of England, a man of extraordinary learning, of great parts, of so good affections to the Roman See, that he is supposed to have died for the Pope's supremacy [f], and is commended by Cardinal Bellarmine to Mr. Blackwell [g] as a martyr, and a guide of many others to martyrdom, "*cum ingenti Anglicæ nationis gloriâ*," certainly one who had as much means to know the truth, both by view of records and otherwise, as any man 95
living: thus writeth he, "If he" (the author of the Beggars' Supplication) "say, as indeed some writers say, that King John made England and Ireland tributary to the Pope and the See Apostolic by the grant of a thousand marks; we dare surely say again, that it is untrue, and that all Rome neither can shew such a grant, nor ever could: and if they could, it were nothing worth; for never could any king of England give away the realm to the Pope, or make the land tributary, though he would [h]."

[Case of Henry the Second.]

As to that of Henry the Second, without doubt the Archpriest had all the reason in the world for him. Cardinal Allen did not write by inspiration, and could expect no more credit than he brought authority. There is a vast difference between these two; that 'no man shall be accounted king of England, until he be confirmed by the Pope,' and this other, that 'the king in his own person would not desert the Pope, so long as he intreated him like a Catholic king.' The former is most dishonourable to the nation, and diametrically opposite to the fundamental laws of the land. The

[d] [Larg. Exam. pp. 19, 20.]
[e] Rog. Hoved., Annal. [p. 529.]
[f] [See p. 121, notes x, y; and the Life of Sir T. More in Wordsw., Eccles. Biogr., vol. ii. pp. 166-168.]
[g] Epist. Card. Bellarm. ad G. Blackw. Archpr. [prefixed to the Large Examination.]
[h] Supplic. of Souls, p. 296. [quoted by Blackw., pp. 20, 21.]

latter we might take ourselves without offence to God or our own consciences. But to make our kings their vassals and their slaves, to impoverish their realm, and to commit all those exorbitant misdemeanours against them, which we have related in part, and shall yet describe more fully, was neither to intreat them like Catholic kings, nor like Christian kings, nor yet like political kings.

And for his St. Thomas of Canterbury, we do not believe that the Pope's canonization, or to have his name inserted into the calendar in red letters, makes a Saint. We do abominate that murder as lawless and barbarous, to sprinkle not only the pavements of the church, but the very altar with the blood of a Prelate; and we condemn all those who had a hand in it: but we do not believe that the cause of his suffering was sufficient to make him a martyr, namely, to help foreigners to pull the fairest flowers from his prince's diadem by violence, and to perjure himself, and violate his oath given for the observation of the Articles of Clarendon. All his own suffragan Bishops were against him in the cause, and justified the king's proceedings; as appeareth by two of their letters, one to himself, the other to Pope Alexander the Third [i]. The barons of the kingdom reputed him as a traitor: "*Quo progrederis proditor? expecta, et audi judicium tuum;*"—"whither goest thou, traitor? stay, and hear thy judgment [k]." This is certain,—the first time, that ever any Pope did challenge the right of investitures in England, was in the days of Henry the First; and Paschal the Second was the first Pope that ever exacted an oath from any foreign Bishop, above eleven hundred years after Christ [l]. Before that time they evermore swore fealty to their prince. "*De homagiis, de feudis, de sacramentis Episcoporum, laicis antea exhibitis* [m] . . . ."—"There was great consultation about the homage, and fealty, and oaths of Bishops, in former ages sworn to laymen." These new articles of faith are too young to make martyrs.

Concerning the second instance of King John, though I attribute much to the authority of Sir Thomas More in that case, who would never have been so confident unless he had [Case of King John.]

[i] Hoveden, in Annal. [pp. 509-511.]
[k] Idem, [p. 495.]
[l] [See Twysden's Histor. Vindicat., c. iii. § 49, 50.]
[m] Platin. in Vitâ Paschal. II. [p. 176, 2.]

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supposed that he had searched the matter to the bottom, yet his zeal to the Papacy, and his unwillingness to see such an unworthy act proceed from that See, might perhaps mislead him; for I confess sundry authors do relate the case otherwise:—that there was a prophecy or prediction made by one Peter a hermit, that the next day to Ascension Sunday there should be no king in England; that Pope Innocent the Third, being angry with King John, excommunicated him, interdicted the kingdom, deprived him of his crown, absolved his subjects from their allegiance, animated his barons and Bishops against him, gave away his realm to Philip king of France, sent Pandulphus as his legate into England to see all this executed; the king of France provides an army accordingly; but the crafty Pope underhand gives his legate secret instructions to speak privately with King John, and if he could make a better bargain for him and draw him to submit to the sentence of the Pope, he should act nothing against him, but in his favour; they do meet; King John submits; the Pope orders him to resign his crown and kingdoms to the See of Rome; so (they say) he did, and received them the next day of the Pope's grace as a feudatory at the yearly rent of a thousand marks for the kingdoms of England and Ireland, and did homage and sware fealty to Pope Innocent[n]. But whereas the Cardinal adds upon his own head, that this 96
was done "at the special request and procurement of the Lords and Commons," it is an egregious forgery, and well deserves a whetstone; for 'all the three Orders of the Kingdom, Bishops, Barons, and Commons, did protest against it in Parliament, notwithstanding any private contract that might be made by King John; and that they would defend themselves by arms from the temporal jurisdiction of the Pope[o].' But the other answer of Sir Thomas More is most certain and beyond all exception, that, if either Henry the Second or King John had done any such thing, it was not worth a rush, nor signified any thing but the greediness and profaneness of these pretended Vicars of Christ, who prostituted and abused their office and the power of the Keys to serve their base and ava-

[n] Matth. Paris, an. 1212, 1213. [pp. 232, sq.]

[o] Harpsf. [Hist. Eccles. Anglic.] ad sæcul. xiv. c. 5., citat. â Sanctâ Clarâ, [p. 412.]

ricious ends, and lets the world see how well they deserved to be thrust out of doors. What? that 'no man might be crowned, or accounted king of England, until he were confirmed by the Pope?' By the law of England, '*rex non moritur*'—'the king never dies:' and doth all acts of sovereignty before his coronation as well as after [p].

[Of the rights of the nobility.]

They robbed the nobility of their patronages, those churches which their ancestors had founded and endowed being by provisions from Rome frequently conferred upon strangers, which could not speak one word of English nor did ever tread upon English ground; insomuch that at one time there were so many Italians beneficed in England, that they received more money yearly out of it than all the revenues of the crown, to the high disservice of Almighty God, the great scandal of religion, the decay of hospitality, and the utter ruin of the English Church [q].

[Of the rights of the Bishops.]

But the least share of their oppressions did not light upon the Bishops, who by their dispensations, and reservations of cases, and of pensions, and exemptions, and inhibitions, and visitations, and tenths, and first-fruits, and provisions, and subsidiary helps, were impoverished and disabled to do the duties of their function. They take their aim much amiss who look upon Episcopacy as a branch of Popery, or a device of the Bishop of Rome to advance his own greatness. Whereas the contrary is most certain, that the Pope is the greatest impugner of Bishops, and the Papacy itself sprung from the unjust usurpation of their just rights. Let it be once admitted, that Bishops are by Divine right, and instantly all his dispensations, and reservations, and exemptions, and indulgences, and his conclave of Cardinals, and the whole Court of Rome, shrink to nothing. This was clearly perceived by both parties in the ventilation of that famous question in the Council of Trent, concerning the Divine right of Bishops, proposed by the Almains, Polonians, and Hungarians, seconded bravely by the Spaniards, prosecuted home by the French, owned by the Archbishop of Paris as the doctrine of [the] Sorbonne, and only crossed by the Italian faction, to preserve the glory of their own country

[p] [Coke upon Littleton, Pt. i. 9, b.] [p. 667.] Epist. Univ. Angl. ad Innocent. [IV.]
[q] Matth. Paris., in Hen. III. an. 1245.

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and the advantages which that nation doth reap from the Papacy[r]:—by whose frowardness and prevarication (in all probability) the reunion of the Church, and the universal peace of this part of Christendom in necessary truths, was hindered at that time.

I presume the case was not so very ill in foreign parts, but yet ill enough. Or otherwise St. Bernard would not have made so bold with Eugenius, adding that, if the days were not evil, he would speak many more things,—"Why do you thrust your sickle into other men's harvest?" &c.[s] He complains of the confusion of appeals, how they were admitted contrary to law and right, beside custom and order, without any distinction of place, or manner, or time, or cause, or person. He complains further of the exemption of Abbots from their Bishops, Bishops from their Archbishops, Archbishops from their Primates. And this he styles "*murmur et communem querimoniam Ecclesiarum*"—"the murmuring and common complaint of the Churches[t]."

[Of the rights of the people.]

Lastly, they cheated and impoverished the people by their dispensations, and commutations, and pardons, and indulgences, and expeditions to recover the Holy Land, and jubilees, and pilgrimages, and *Agnus Dei*'s, and a thousand pecuniary artifices: so as no sort of men escaped their fingers.

The third ground. [viz. that such foreign jurisdiction so exercised was destructive to ecclesiastical discipline.]

3. The third ground of their separation from Rome was, because they found by experience that such foreign jurisdiction so exercised was destructive to the right ends of ecclesiastical discipline, which is in part to preserve public peace and tranquillity, to retain subjects in due obedience, and to 97
oblige people to do their duties more conscientiously. Far be it from any Christian to imagine that policy is the springhead of religion. There never was yet any one nation so unpolitic and brutishly barbarous, but they had some religion or other. They who obeyed no governors but their parents, paid religious duties to some God; they who wanted clothes to their backs, wanted not their sacred ceremonies;

[r] [Fra. Paolo's Hist. of the Counc. of Trent, bk. vii. pp. 587, 595, 604, 634; bk. viii. pp. 735, 737. Eng. Transl. of 1640. E. Du Bellay was then Bishop of Paris; which was not an *Archbishopric* until 1622.]

[s] Bernard., De Considerat. [in Papam, lib. i., ap. Goldast., Monarch. S. Rom. Imp. tom. ii. p. 70.]

[t] [Ibid.] lib. iii. [ap. Goldast., ibid. pp. 78-80.]

they who were without municipal laws, were subject of themselves to the law of conscience. But, where religion hath lost its influence and vigour by contempt, and much more where the influence of religion is malignant, where policy and religion do not support one another, but interfere one with another; societies are like castles builded in the air, without any firm foundation, and cannot long endure; like as that single meteor Castor appearing without Pollux portends an unfortunate voyage[u]. 'Let us flatter ourselves as much as we please' (said Tully to the Romans), 'we have not overcome the Spaniards in number, nor the Gauls in force, nor the Carthaginians in craft, nor the Grecians in art, nor the Italians in understanding; but the advantage which we have gained over them was by religious piety[x].' So great an influence hath religion upon the body politic.

Wherefore our ancestors, having seen by long and costly experience, that the tyrannical jurisdiction of the Roman Court, instead of peace and tranquillity did produce disunion in the realm,—factions and animosities between the crown and the mitre, intestine discord between the king and his barons, bad intelligence with neighbour princes, and foreign wars; having seen a stranger solicited by the Pope either to destroy them by war, or to subdue them to the obedience of the Roman Court; having seen their native country given away as a prey to a foreign prince, Philip of France, and the Pope well near seated in the royal chair of Estate, for him and his successors for ever, to the endless dishonour of the English name and nation, by the cheating tricks of Pandulphus his legate; having seen English rebels canonized at Rome and made Saints; it was no marvel if they thought it high time to free themselves from such a chargeable and dangerous guest.

The fourth ground. [viz. the inconveniences in which adherence to the Pope would have involved us.]

Fourthly; besides the former bad influence of foreign jurisdiction upon the body politic, they found sundry other inconveniences that incited them to separate from Rome. They must have been daily subject to have had new Creeds and new articles of Faith obtruded upon them; they must have been daily exposed to manifold and manifest peril of idolatry, and sinning against God and their own consciences; they must have forsaken the communion of three parts of Christendom,

[u] [Plin., Nat. Hist., lib. ii. c. 37.] [x] [De Haruspic. Resp., c. 9.]

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which are not Roman, to join with the fourth; they must have approved the Pope's apparent rebellion against the supreme ecclesiastical power, that is, a general Council; and their Bishops must have sworn to maintain him in these his rebellious usurpations. Whether they should prefer their native and Christian liberty, or give them up for nothing; whether they should preserve their communion with the Catholic Church, or with the Court of Rome; whether they should desert the Pope, or involve themselves in rebellion, schism, sacrilege, and perjury;—the choice was soon made.

[The last ground;—viz. the Pope's challenge of a spiritual monarchy by *Divine* right.]

5. Lastly; they see that the Popes had disclaimed all that just power which they had by human right, and challenged to themselves a spiritual monarchy or sovereignty by Divine right; whereby their sufferings, which in themselves were unsupportable, were made also irremediable, from thence. Wherefore they sought out a fit expedient for themselves, being neither ignorant of their old Britannic exemption and liberties of the English Church, nor yet of the weakness of the Roman pretences. Our progenitors knew well enough that their authority extended not to take away any the least particle of Divine right, if there had been any such. Nor could they justly be accused of violating that human right, which had been quitted long before; nor be blamed rightly for denying obedience to him, from whose jurisdiction they were exempted by the canon of an Œcumenical Council, and who had himself implicitly renounced that ecclesiastical right which he held from the Church.

[No defect in the *manner* of proceeding of the king and Church of England.]

Perhaps some may conceive a defect in the manner of proceeding of the king and Church of England,—that they did not first make a remonstrance of their grievances, and seek redress of the Pope himself. So the Council of Tours thought it fit. *"Visum est tamen Concilio, ante omnia mittendos legatos ad D. Papam Julium,"* &c. "It seemeth good to the Council, that in the first place messengers be sent from the French Church to the Pope, who may admonish him with brotherly love and according to the evangelical form of correction, to desist from his attempts and to embrace peace and concord with the princes. But if he will not hear the messengers, let him be demanded to convocate a free Council, according to the decrees of the holy Council of Basle. And this being

done, and his answer received, further provision shall be made according to right [y]."

To this I answer;—

[The Roman Bishops not our lawful Patriarchs.]

1. First, that it had been reasonable and just indeed, that we had made our first address to the Pope, if we acknowledged the Roman Bishop to be our lawful Patriarch; but the same respect is not due to an usurper:

[Addresses to the Pope proved vain and fruitless by frequent experience.]

2. Secondly, we have seen by frequent experience, how vain and fruitless such addresses have proved from time to time.

According to the former advice of the Council of Tours, the king of France sent ambassadors to Rome; but the Pope "refused to hear them, or to convocate any Council," and before his death anathematized Maximilian King of the Romans, the kings of France and of Navarre, and divers other princes, Cardinals, and Bishops; deprived the kings and princes of their respective realms and principalities, the Bishops of their dignities and benefices; and gave their kingdoms and principalities to the first that could take them: from which sentence they appealed to a future Council [z].

The most ancient arbitrary imposition of the Popes upon the British Churches, was the pall, an honourable, and at first innocent, ensign of an Archbishop, otherwise of no great moment; first introduced in the reigns of the Saxon kings after the six hundredth year of Christ. But in process of time it became vendible, and a great sum was exacted for it; whereof Canutus long since complained at Rome, and had remedy promised [a], as he well deserved of that See; but how well it was observed, the experience of after ages doth manifest, when both the price was augmented, and withal an oath of allegiance to the Pope imposed:—"*Electo in Archiepiscopum Sedes Apostolica pallium non tradet, nisi prius præstet fidelitatis et obedientiæ juramentum*"—"The See Apostolic will not deliver the pall to an elect Archbishop, unless he first swear fidelity and obedience to the Pope [b]." What was become of their old oath of allegiance to their king?

[y] Concil. Turon., an. 1510, in fine. [ap. Labb., Concil., tom. xiii. pp. 1482, 1483. The last words are in the original "prout *ejus* erit," for which Bramhall appears to have read "prout *jus* erit."]

[z] Extraict [in Act. 1mi. Concil. Pisan., ed. Paris. 1612.] des "Annales d'Aquitaine [par J. Bouchet," P. iv. fol. 147, l. ed. 1545.]

[a] Baron., Annal., tom. xi. [an. 1027. num. 4.]

[b] Greg. [Decretal. lib. i. tit. vi.] "De

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In the year 1245, the king, the lords spiritual and temporal, and the whole commonwealth of England, joined together unanimously in a complaint, and exhibited their grievances to Rome:—that 'the Pope extorted more than his Peter-pence out of the kingdom, contrary to law; that the patrons of churches were defrauded of their rights, strangers preferred, souls endangered, their bullion exported, the kingdom impoverished, provisions made, pensions exacted;' that 'the English were drawn out of the realm by the authority of the Pope, contrary to the customs of the kingdom.' They complained of 'the coming among them of the Pope's infamous messenger, *Non obstante*, by which oaths, customs, writings, grants, statutes, rights, privileges, were not only weakened, but exinanited.' They complained of 'collections without the king's leave, that hospitality was not kept, the poor not sustained, the Word not preached, churches not adorned, the cure of souls neglected, Divine offices not performed, and churches ruined by the abuses of the Papal Court [c].' I cannot omit one clause in the letter of the lords to the Pope,—"*nisi de gravaminibus domino regi et regno illatis rex et regnum citius liberentur, oportebit nos ponere murum pro Domo Domini, et libertate regni; quod quidem, ob Apostolicæ Sedis reverentiam, hucusque facere distulimus* [d]"—"unless the king and kingdom be quickly freed from these grievances, we must make a wall" (of defence or partition) "for the House of the Lord and the liberty of the kingdom; which we have hitherto forborne to do out of our reverent respect of the Apostolic See." They seem to allude to that wall which Severus made to save the kingdom from the incursions of the Scots and Picts. Surely that was not more necessary then, than that wall of partition which Henry the Eighth made afterwards, to save the realm from the affronts and extortions and injuries of the Roman Court. Neither did they make their addresses to the Pope alone, but to the Council of Lyons, by the proctors of the whole nobility and commonalty of England, for redress of the "violent oppressions, intolerable grievances, and impudent

Elect. et Electi Potest." [c. 4. in titulo; et Baron., Annal., tom. xi. an. 1102. num. 8.]

[c] Matth. Paris, in an. 1245. (misprinted in Wats' edit., 1245), pp. 698, 699.]

[d] Idem, in an. 1246. [p. 701.]

exactions, which were practised" in England, "by means of
99 that hateful clause—*non obstante*—too often inserted in the Pope's letters [e]." They represented that there were so many Italians, for the most part ignorant and unlearned, that understood not one English word, nor did ever tread upon English ground, benefieed among them, that their yearly revenue exeeeded the revenue of the Crown [f]. Neither did they complain only, but threaten and swear that they would not permit such abuses for the future [g]. But what ease did the poor English find by eomplaining to the Pope either in Council or out of Counеil? Martin the Pope's commissioner (for he could not send a legate without the king's eonsent) extorts, excommunieates, interdiets [h]; the Pope himself is angry, beeause like sturdy children 'they durst ery and whimper when they were beaten [i],' and persuades the King of Franee to invade England, and either to depose the king, or subjeet him to the Court of Rome, whieh lost the Pope the heart of the English. The king [read *Pope*] told them that their king began to "kiek against him, and play the Frederie [k]." And they threatened, that if he 'persisted, they should be foreed to do that which would make his heart aehe [l].'

After this Edward the Third made his addresses likewise to Rome for remedy of grievanees, in the year 1343 [m]. How did he speed? No better than his great grandfather Henry the Third. The Pope was offended, and termed his modest expostulation "rebellion." But that wise and magnanimous prinee was not daunted with words; to requite their invectives, he made the statutes of Provisors and *Præmunire* [n], directly against the encroaehments and usurpations of the Court of Rome. Whereby he so abated their power in England for sundry ages following, that a Dean and Chapter were able to deal with them, not only to hold them at the sword's point, but to foil them [o].

[e] Idem, in an. 1245. [p. 668.]
[f] [Idem, ibid.]
[g] Ibidem [p. 681.]
[h] [Id. an. 1244. pp. 644, 645. an. 1245. p. 657.]
[i] Id. an. 1246. [p. 691.]
[k] [Ibid. p. 709. The word 'king' in the beginning of the sentence is a mistake for 'Pope.']
[l] [Ibid., p. 701: in sense.]
[m] Walsingh., [Hist. Brevis, in an. 1343.] pp. [149-152.]
[n] [25 Edw. III. Stat. 6. § 3.—27 Edw. III. Stat. i. c. 1.]
[o] [See p. 141, note q.]

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[Henry VIII. himself an unsuccessful suitor to Clement VII.]

3. Lastly, King Henry the Eighth himself had been long a suitor unto Clement the Seventh, to have his predecessor Julius the Second's dispensation for his marriage with his brother's wife to be declared void. But, though the Pope's own doctors and Universities had declared the dispensation to be unlawful and invalid; and although the Pope himself had once given forth a Bull privately to his legate Cardinal Campeius for the revocation thereof, wherein he declared the marriage to be null, and that the king could not continue in it without sin[p]; yet the king found so little respect either to the condition of his person, or to the justice of his cause, that after long delays, to try if he could be allured to the Pope's will, in the conclusion he received a flat denial. This was no great encouragement to him to make any more addresses to Rome. So what was threatened and effected in part in the days of Henry the Third and Edward the Third, was perfected in the reign of Henry the Eighth; when the jurisdiction of the Court of Rome in England was abolished, which makes the great distance between them and us. Different *opinions* are often devised or defended on purpose to maintain faction. If animosities were extinguished, and the minds of Christians free from prejudice, other controversies might quickly be reconciled, and reduced to primitive general truths. The power paramount of the Court of Rome hath ever been, and still is, that "*insana laurus*[q]," which causeth brawling and contention, not only between us and them, but between them and the Eastern Churches, yea, even between them and those of their own communion, as we shall see in the next chapter; yea, the original source and true cause of all the separations and reformations made in the Church in these last ages; as all the estates of Castile did not forbear to tell the Pope himself not long since in a printed memorial[r], and the kingdom of Portugal[s] likewise. To conclude this point;—these former kings, who reigned in England about the years 1200 and 1300, might properly be called the first reformers; and their laws of Provisors and *Præmunire*'s, or more properly

[p] See the copy of the Bull [dated 16 Dec. 1527.] in Anti-Sanderus. [pp. 200, &c. Cantab. 1593.]

[q] [Plin., Nat. Hist., lib. xvi. c. 89.]

[r] 'Memorial de Sa Magestad Catolica,' [Philip IV., to Urban VIII., an. 1633. [See below pp. 230, 231.]

[s] Lusitaniæ Gemitus. p. 43. [See below p. 224, notes g, h.]

præmonere's, the beginning of the Reformation. They laid the foundation, and Henry the Eighth builded upon it.

III. Now, having seen the authority of our Reformers, and the justice of their grounds, in the last place let us observe their due moderation in the *manner* of their separation.

The moderation of the English Reformers [in the *manner* of their separation]. [Neither they nor we deny the being of any other Churches, nor possibility of salvation in them.]

1. First, they did not, we do not, deny the being of any Church whatsoever, Roman or other, nor possibility of salvation in them, especially such as hold firmly the Apostles' Creed, and the Faith of the four first general Councils; though their salvation be rendered much more difficult by human inventions and obstructions. And by this very sign did St. Cyprian purge himself and the African Bishops from schism;—"*Neminem judicantes, aut à jure communionis aliquem, si diversum senserit, amoventes*[t]"—"judging no man, removing no man from our communion, for difference in opinion." We do indeed require subscription to our Articles, but it is only from them who are our own, not from strangers; nor yet of all our own, but only of those who seek to be initiated into Holy Orders, or are to be admitted to some ecclesiastical preferment: so it is in every man's election whether he will put himself upon a necessity of subscription or not. Neither are our Articles penned with anathemas or curses against all those, even of our own, who do not receive them; but used only as a help or rule of unity among ourselves. '*Si quis diversum dixerit*'—if any of our own shall *speak*, or preach, or write against them, we question him. But '*si quis diversum senserit*'—if any man shall only *think* otherwise in his private opinion, and trouble not the peace of the Church, we question him not. We presume not to censure others to be out of the pale of the Church, but leave them to stand or fall to their own Master. We damn none for dissenting from us; we do not separate ourselves from other Churches, unless they chase us away with their censures, but only from their errors. For clear manifestation whereof, observe the thirtieth canon of our Church;—"it was so far from the purpose of the Church of England to forsake and reject the Churches of Italy, France, Spain, Germany, or any such like Churches, in all things which they held and practised, &c. that it only

[t] [Act.] Concil. Carthag. [VIII. A. D. 256.], De Baptiz. Hæret. [ap. Cypr., Op. p. 229.]

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departed from them in those particular points wherein they were fallen both from themselves in their ancient integrity, and from the Apostolical Churches, which were their first founders [u]." So moderate are we towards all Christians, whether foreigners or domesties, whether whole Churches or single persons.

[Roman Catholics answered who lay hold on this our charitable assertion.]

But because the Roman Catholics do lay hold upon this charitable assertion of ours, as tending mainly to their advantage :—behold (say they), Protestants do acknowledge a possibility of salvation in the Roman Church; but Roman Catholics deny all possibility of salvation in the Protestant Churches; therefore the religion of Roman Catholics is much safer than that of Protestants (hence proceeded their treatise of "Charity Mistaken [x]," and sundry other discourses of that nature, wherein there are mistakes enough, but little charity) : —for answer, if this objection were true, I should love my religion never the worse; where I find little charity, I look for as little faith :—but it is not true; for when the business is searched to the bottom, they acknowledge the same possibility of salvation to us, which we do to them, that is, to such of either Church respectively as do not err wilfully, but use their best endeavours to find out the truth. Take two testimonies of the Bishop of Chalcedon [y];—'if they' (that is, the Protestants) 'grant not salvation to such Papists as they count vincibly ignorant of Roman errors, but only to such as are invincibly ignorant of them, they have no more charity than we; for we grant Church, saving Faith, and salvation, to such Protestants as are invincibly ignorant of their errors;' and in his book of the Distinction of Fundamentals and not-Fundamentals, he hath these words,—'if Protestants

[u] [Canon. 1603.] Can. 30.

[x] ["Charity Mistaken, with the want whereof Catholics are unjustly charged, for affirming, as they do, that Protestancy unrepented destroys Salvation." 8vo. 1630, by Matthew Wilson, a Jesuit, under the assumed name of Edw. Knott. See the art. upon him under the latter name in Dodd, Ch. Hist., vol. iii. pp. 106, 107.]

[y] Protest. Plain Confession, ch. xiii. pp. 151, 152.—[Distinction of Fundamentals and not Fundamentals,] ch. ii. p. 62. [These appear to be the two books of the Bishop of Chalcedon (Smith) quoted before in the Answ. to La Millet., p. 79. They are mentioned by Dodd (Ch. Hist., vol. iii. p. 78.) as his and as published in 1645; but are not to be met with either in the Bodleian Library, the British Museum, or Sion College. The title of the first as given by Dodd is, "The Protestants' Plain Confession that the Roman Church is the Head of the Church of God, and that in her is a saving Faith, &c."]

allow not saving Faith, Church, and salvation, to such as sinfully err in not-fundamentals sufficiently proposed, they shew no more charity to erring Christians than Catholics do. For we allow all to have saving Faith, to be in the Church, in way of salvation (for so much as belongeth to Faith), who hold the fundamental points, and invincibly err in not-fundamentals, because neither are these sufficiently proposed to them, nor they in fault that they are not so proposed.'

[Our separation made with as much inward charity as is possible.]

2. Secondly, as our separation is from their errors, not from their Churches, so we do it with as much inward charity and moderation of our affections, as we can possibly; willingly indeed in respect of their errors, and especially their tyrannical exactions and usurpations, but unwillingly and with reluctation in respect of their persons; and much more in respect of our common Saviour: as if we were to depart from our father's, or our brother's house; or rather, from some contagious sickness wherewith it was infected: not forgetting to pray God daily to restore them to their former purity, that they and we may once again enjoy the comfort and contentment of one another's Christian society. We pray for their conversion publicly in our Litany in general, and expressly and solemnly upon Good Friday; though we know that they do as solemnly curse us the day before. If this be to be schismatics, it were no ill wish for Christendom that there were many more such schismatics.

[We do not arrogate to ourselves either a new Church, a new religion, or new Holy Orders.]

3. Thirdly, we do not arrogate to ourselves either a new
101 Church, or a new religion, or new Holy Orders; for then we must produce new miracles, new revelations, and new cloven Tongues, for our justification. Our religion is the same it was, our Church the same it was, our Holy Orders the same they were, in substance; differing only from what they were formerly, as a garden weeded from a garden unweeded; or a body purged, from itself before it was purged. And therefore, as we presume not to make new articles of Faith, much less to obtrude such innovations upon others, so we are not willing to receive them from others, or to mingle scholastical opinions with fundamental truths. Which hath given occasion to some to call our religion a negative religion; not considering that our positive articles are those general truths,

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about which there is no controversy. Our negation is only of human controverted additions.

[We are ready to believe and practise, what the Catholic Church believes and practises.]

4. Lastly; we are ready in the preparation of our minds to believe and practise, whatsoever the Catholic Church (even of this present age) doth universally and unanimously believe and practise. "*Quod apud multos unum invenitur, non est erratum, sed traditum*[z]." And though it be neither lawful nor possible for us to hold actual communion with all sorts of Christians in all things, wherein they vary both from the truth, and one from another, yet even in those things we hold a communion with them 'in our desires,' longing for their conversion and re-union with us in truth.

CHAP. VII.

THAT ALL PRINCES AND REPUBLICS OF THE ROMAN COMMUNION DO IN EFFECT THE SAME THING WHEN THEY HAVE OCCASION, OR AT LEAST DO PLEAD FOR IT.

So we are come to our fifth conclusion—that, whatsoever the king and Church of England did in the separation of themselves from the Court of Rome, it is no more than all sovereign princes and Churches (none of whatsoever communion excepted) do practise or pretend as often as they have occasion.

[Protestant States.]

And first; for all Protestant kings, princes, and republics, it admits no denial or dispute.

[The Eastern Churches.]

Secondly; for the Grecian and all other Eastern Churches, it can be no more doubted of than of the Protestants; since they never acknowledged any obedience to be due from them to the Bishop of Rome, but only an honourable respect, as to the prime Patriarch and 'beginning of unity.' Whose farewell or separation is said to have been as smart as ours and upon the same grounds, in these words—"we acknowledge thy power, we cannot satisfy thy covetousness, live by yourselves[a]."

[z] Tertull., [Lib. de] Præscript. [adv. Hæret., Op. p. 241. C.]

[a] Gerson, "Serm. [Coram Reg. Franc." (scil. Carol. VI.)] "de Pace et Unit. Græcor.," [Consider. 7ma., Op.] P. iv. [fol. 114. O. "Potentiam tuam recognoscimus; avaritiam tuam implere non possumus; vivite per vos."]

But my aim extends higher, to verify this of the Roman Catholic princes and republics themselves, as the emperor, the most Christian and Catholic kings, the Republic of Venice, and others.

[I. The French and German Emperors.]

I. To begin with the emperors. I do not mean those ancient Christian primitive emperors, who lived and flourished before the days of Gregory the Great. Such a Court of Rome as we made our secession from, was not then in being, nor the college of Parish-Priests at Rome turned then into a Conclave of Cardinals, as ecclesiastical princes of the Œcumenical Church. So long there was no need of any separation from them, or protestation against them. But I intend the later emperors since Gregory's time, after the Popes sought to usurp an universal sovereignty over the Catholic Church; and more particularly the Occidental, that is to say, the French and German, emperors.

The case of England not the same with [that of] Germany [in two respects].

Yet the reader may be pleased to take notice, that the case of our kings is much different from theirs in two respects.

First; they believed the Roman Bishop to be their lawful Patriarch (whether justly or not, is not the subject of this present discourse), but we do utterly deny his Patriarchal authority over us; and to demonstrate our exemption, do produce for matter of right, that famous canon of the general
102 Council of Ephesus, made in the case of the Cyprian Bishops; and for matter of fact, the unanimous votes of two British Synods and the concurrent testimonies of all our historiographers. Some have been formerly cited: we might add to them the ancient British history, called by the author thereof Brutus, wherein he relates this answer of the British to Augustine,—"*Se Caerleonensi Archiepiscopo obedire voluisse, Augustino autem Romano legato omnino noluisse, nec Anglis inimicis et paulò antè paganis (à quibus suis sedibus pulsi erant) subesse se, qui semper Christiani fuerunt, voluisse*[b];"—"that they would obey the Archbishop of Caerleon" (that was their British Primate, or Patriarch), "but

[b] Cap. 98. [as quoted and translated by Caius, Antiq. Acad. Cantab., lib. i. p. 74. The book intended, which was printed by Caxton in 1480, is usually known as 'Caxton's Chronicle,' or "Fructus Temporum;" and is not older than the reign of Edward IV. See Hearne's edit. of Caius, vol. ii. p. 802.—Bale, Cent. viii. num. 43.]

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they would not obey Austine the Bishop of Rome's legate: neither would the Britons, who had evermore been Christians from the beginning, be under the English, who were their enemies, and but newly converted from paganism, by whom they had been driven out of their ancient habitations." The same history is related by sundry other very ancient authors[c].

A second difference between our English kings and the later German emperors is this, that our kings by the fundamental constitutions of the kingdom are hereditary kings, and never die[d]: so there is an uninterrupted succession without any vacancy. But the emperors are elective, and consequently not invested in the actual possession of their sovereignty without some public solemnities; whereof some are essential, as the votes of the electors; some others ceremonial, as the last coronation of the emperor by the Bishop of Rome, which was really, and is yet titularly, his imperial city. But the Popes, who had learned to make their own advantage of every thing, sacred or civil, took occasion from hence to make the world believe that the imperial crown was their gift, and the emperors their liegemen. So Adrian the [A.D.1158.] Fourth doubted not to write to Frederick Barbarossa the emperor,—"*Insigne coronæ beneficium tibi contulimus;*" which was so offensively taken, that (as the German Bishops in their letter to the same Pope do affirm) 'the whole empire was moved at it, the ears of his Imperial Majesty could not hear it with patience, nor the Princes endure it, nor they themselves either durst or could approve it[e].' Whereupon the Pope was forced to expound himself, that by "*beneficium*" he meant nothing but "*bonum factum*"—a good deed; and by "*contulimus*" nothing but "*imposuimus*"—that he had put the crown upon him. So the emperor complains in his letter to the Bishops,—"*A picturâ cœpit, à picturâ ad scripturam processit; scriptura in authoritatem prodire conatur,*" &c.—"It began with painting, from painting it proceeded to writing, and at last they sought to justify it by authority. We will

[c] [Johannes] Graius [Oxfordius], in "Scalæ Chronicon." [See Bale, Cent. iii. num. 42.]—Gocelinus, in Hist. Majore [S. Augustini Cantuar., c. iii. § 35, inter Acta SS. per Bolland. Die xxvi. Maii.],—&c. [as referred to, with many others, by Caius, Antiq. Acad. Cantab., lib. i. p. 74.]

[d] [See p. 189, note p.]

[e] [In Adrian. IV. Epist. ad Episcop. German., A. D. 1158.] ap. Goldast., Constitut. Imperial., impressæ Francofurti an. 1607, P. i. p. [61.]

not" (said he) "suffer it, we will not endure it, we will rather lay down our imperial crown, than suffer the empire itself to be deposed with our consent. Let the pictures be defaced, let the writings be retracted, that perpetual monuments of enmity between the Sceptre and the Mitre may not continue [f]." Thus Pope Adrian failed of his design: but his successor John the Twenty-Second renewed the Papal claim [A.D.1323.] against Ludovicus the Fourth, in higher terms, as appeareth by his own Bull, wherein he affirms, that 'after the translation of the Roman Empire from the Grecians to the Germans by his predecessors the Popes,' '*summus ille honor beneficium Pontificis Maximi esse solet;*'—'the empire used to be the Pope's gift;' adding, that the elections of the German princes were invalid, unless the Pope ("*universi orbis Christiani Pater atque Princeps, Dei Optimi Maximi Legatus, . . . suo numine faveat et aspiret*") should approve it; and, finally, commanding the emperor 'to quit his crown and imperial dignity, and not to reassume them but by his command' "*nisi jussu et mandato nostro* [g]." But the emperor appealed; the Electors and other Princes protested against the Pope's pretended power; and the emperor and all the States of the empire made a solemn constitution against it [h]. This was the second repulse, yet the Popes were not so easily shaken off. It fortuned about the year 1400, that the Electoral College deposed Wenceslaus from the empire, and chose Rupert Prince Palatine in his place; communicating the whole business, whilst it was in agitation, to the Pope, to have his spiritual advice and the countenance of the Apostolic See, but yet reserving the power entirely to themselves. Howsoever Pope Boniface the Ninth lays hold of this opportunity, and declares by his Bull, that the Electors did it 'by his authority'—"*authoritate nostra suffulti;*" and confirms the said deprivation as good and lawful [i].

This uncertainty of succession and this Papal pretension 03 made sundry emperors more fearful to grapple with the Popes, or to right themselves from their grievous exactions

[f] [Id.,] Ibidem. [pp. 62, 63.]

[g] [Bulla Joh. XXII.] dat. Avinionæ an. 1323, ap. Goldast., ibid. P. i. p. 98.

[h] In Comitiis Reinensibus et Francofurtensibus [A. D. 1338, ap. eundem, ibid. pp. 98-100.]

[i] Goldast., [ibid. P. i.] pp. 142[-143. A. D. 1401.]

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and usurpations. In the year 1455, 'after the death of Nicholas the Fifth, the Germans bewailed their condition to Frederic the Third, and sought to persuade him that he would no longer obey the Roman Bishops, unless they would at least give way to a Pragmatical Sanction for the maintenance of the liberties of the German nation; like that of the French kings for the privileges of the Gallican Church. They shewed that their condition was much worse than the French and Italians, whose servants (especially [of] the Italians) without a change they were deservedly called [k].' "*Rogabant, urgebant proceres, populique Germaniæ, gravissimis tum rationibus tum exemplis, tum utilitatem tum necessitatem imperii,*" &c.—'the Princes and people of Germany intreated, and pressed both the advantage and necessity of the empire. They implored his fidelity, they prayed him for his oath's sake, and to prevent the infamy and dishonour of their nation, that they alone might not want the fruit of their national decrees, that he had as much power, and was as much obliged thereunto, as other kings,' &c.[l] "*Nec certè procul abfuit,*" &c.—"it wanted not much," saith Platina[m]. Molinæus goes further,—"*his rationibus victus et permotus imperator,*" &c.—"the emperor being overcome and moved with these reasons, was about to make as full a Sanction for his subjects, as the king of France had done for his[n]." What hindered him? Only the advice of Æneas Sylvius, who persuaded him rather to comply with the Pope, than with his people, upon this ground, that "princes disagreeing might be reconciled, but between a prince and his people, the enmity was immortal." "*Motus hâc ratione imperator, spretâ populorum postulatione, Æneam oratorem deligit, qui ad Callistum mitteretur*"—"the emperor, being moved with this reason, despising the request of his people, sends the same Æneas as his ambassador to Callistus[o]." The truth is this; the emperor feared the Pope, and durst not trust his own subjects: whence it proceeded, that seven years before his death he not only procured his son Maximilian to be crowned King

[k] Platin., in Vitâ Pii II. [p. 306, l.]
[l] Carol. Molinæus in 'Commentariis [ad Edict. Henr. II., &c. et in Senatusconsulta Franciæ c. abus. Papar.,' § 5, Op. Jurid., tom. iii. pp. 481. E. 482. A.]
[m] Platin., ibidem.
[n] Molin., ibidem. [§ 6. p. 482. A.]
[o] Platin., ibidem.

of the Romans, but also took him to be his companion in the empire, "*ne post obitum suum* (*ut factum fuisset*) *transferretur imperium in aliam familiam :*"—"lest the empire after his death (as without doubt it had come to pass) should have been transferred into another family [p]."

Yet, notwithstanding these bars or *remoras*, the uncertainty of succession, and Papal pretensions, the emperors have done as much in relation to the Court of Rome, as the kings of England.

[Yet the emperors have done as much in relation to the Court of Rome, as the kings of England.]

1. First; Henry the Eighth within his own dominions did exercise a power of convocating ecclesiastical Synods, confirming Synods, reforming the Church by Synods, and suppressing upstart innovations by ancient canons.

The emperors have done the same. Charles the Great called the Council of Frankfort, consisting of three hundred Bishops: witness his own letter to Elipandus;—"*Jussimus Sanctorum Patrum Synodale ex omnibus undique nostræ ditionis Ecclesiis congregari Concilium*"—"we have commanded a Synodical Council to be congregated out of all the Churches within our dominions:" neither did he only convocate it, but confirm it also;—"*Ecce ego vestris petitionibus satisfaciens, congregationi Sacerdotum auditor et arbiter adsedi. Discernimus* [lege *Decernimus*] *et Deo donante decrevimus quid esset de hac inquisitione firmiter tenendum*"—"Behold I, satisfying your requests" (that is, of the Elipandians and Fælicians, who made Christ but an adoptive Son of God), "did sit in the Council both as a hearer, and as a judge. We determine and by the gift of God have decreed what is to be held in this inquiry [q]." And it is very observable how he disposed the resolutions of this Council into four books; the first book contained the sense of the Roman Bishop and his suffragans; the second of the Archbishop of Milan and the Patriarch of Aquileia with the rest of the Italian Bishops; the third, the votes of the German, French, and British Bishops; the last, his own consent. The Romans had no more part therein than others, to set down their own faith, and to represent what they had

Emperors convocated Synods;

and confirmed Synods;

[p] Molin., [ibidem, p. 482. D.]

[q] [Carol. M., Epist. ad Elipand., Tolet. Civ. Episc., A. D. 794,] apud Goldast., [C. I. ed. 1607.] P. i. p. 3.

["*Decernimus*" is Goldastus' correction (Rationale C. I., p. 12); from whom apparently it was adopted in the folio edit. of Abp. Bramhall.]

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received from the Apostles [r].—Neither did they only convocate Councils, and confirm them, but in them and by them reformed innovations, and restored ancient truths and orders. So did the same emperor;—"By the counsel of our Bishops and nobles we have ordained Bishops throughout the cities, and do decree to assemble a Synod every year, that in our presence the canonical decrees and laws of the Church may be restored [s]." Ludovicus Pius convocated a Council at Aquisgrane to reform the abuses of the clergy, and confirmed the same, and commanded the constitutions thereof to be put in execution, as appeareth by his own epistle to Arno Archbishop of Salzburg [t]. Otho the First called a Council at Rome, and caused John the Twelfth to be deposed, and Leo the Eighth to be chosen in his place. The sentence of the Council was,—"*Petimus magnitudinem Imperii vestri,*" &c.—"we beseech your Imperial Majesty, that such a monster may be thrust out of the Roman Church." And the emperor confirmed it with a "*placet*"—"we are pleased [u]." Henry the Fourth called a German Synod at Worms, and another of Germans and Italians at Brixia, wherein sentence of deprivation was given against Gregory the Seventh, and confirmed by the emperor. "*Quorum sententiæ quod justa et probabilis coram Deo hominibusque videbatur, &c., ego quoque assentiens omne tibi Papatus jus quod habere visus es abrenuncio,*" &c. "*Ego Henricus, Rex Dei gratiâ, cum omnibus Episcopis nostris tibi dicimus, Descende, descende.*"—"To whose sentence, because it seemed just and reasonable before God and men, I also assenting, do declare thee to have no right in the Papacy, as thou seemest to have." "I Henry, by the grace of God King of the Romans, with all our Bishops do say unto thee, Descend from thy seat, descend [x]." So Frederic the First called a Council at Papia, to settle the right succession of the Papacy, wherein Roland the Cardinal was rejected, and Victor declared lawful Bishop of Rome. And all this was done with due submission to the emperor:—"*Christianissimus Imperator,*" &c.—"The most Christian Emperor, in the last place, after all the Bishops and clergy,

And by them reformed the Church.

[A.D.816.]

[A.D.963.]

[A. D. 1077 et 1080.]

[A.D.1160.]

[r] Ibidem.
[s] Capitul. lib. v. [see p. 172, note r.]
[t] Goldast., [C. I. ed. 1607.] P. i. pp. 12, 13.
[u] Idem, [ibid.] P. i. p. 34.
[x] Idem, [ibid. P. i.] pp. 45. 50.

by the advice and upon the petition of the Council, received and approved the election of Victor[y]." I will conclude this first part of the parallel with the words of the same emperor in the same Council;—"*Quamvis noverim officio ac dignitate Imperii penes nos esse potestatem congregandorum Conciliorum,*" &c.—"although I know, that, by virtue of our office and imperial dignity, the power of calling Councils rests in us, especially in so great dangers of the Church; for both Constantine and Theodosius and Justinian, and of fresher memory Charles the Great and Otho, emperors, are recorded to have done this; yet I do commit the authority of determining this great and high business to your wisdom and power[z];" that is, to the Bishops there assembled.

The English Reformation not schismatical.

But it may be objected, that the emperors with their Synods never made any such schismatical reformation, as that which was made by the Protestants in England.

I answer,

[The schism begun before the Reformation.]

First, that the schism between the Roman Court and the English Church (other schism I know none on our parts), was begun long before that reformation, in the days of Henry the Eighth, and the breach sufficiently proclaimed to the world, both by Romish Bulls, and English statutes. We could not be the first separators of ourselves from them, who had formerly thrust us out of their doors. It is not schismatical to substract obedience from them to whom it is not due, who had extruded us out of their society: but it is schismatical to give just cause of substraction.

[Great necessity of reformation both in Germany and England.] [Testimony of Adrian the Sixth.]

Secondly, I answer, that there was a great necessity of reformation both in Germany and England. For proof whereof I produce two witnesses beyond exception, the one a Pope, the other a Cardinal. The former is Adrian the Sixth, in his instructions to his legate in the year 1522, which the Princes of the Empire take notice of in their answer. His words are these;—"*Scimus in hac sanctâ Sede aliquot jam annis multa abominanda fuisse,*" &c.—"We know that, for some by-past years, many things to be abominated have been in this holy See, abuses in spiritual matters, excesses in commands, and, to conclude, all things out of order; &c. wherein,

[y] Idem, [ibid.] P. i. p. 70.

[z] Radevic., De Gestis Frider. I. Imperatoris, lib. ii. c. [64.]

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for so much as concerns us, thou shalt promise that we will use all our endeavour, that first this Court, from whence peradventure" (sure enough) "all the evil did spring, may be reformed; that as corruption did flow from thence to the inferior parts" (of the Church), "so may health and reformation. To procure which, we do hold ourselves so much more strictly obliged, by how much we do see the whole world greedily desire such a reformation [a]." "*O Adriane, si nunc viveres!*"

[Testimony of Cardinal Pole.]

The other witness is Cardinal Pole, who makes two main ends of the Council of Trent; the one, the reconciling of the Lutherans; the other, "*Quo pacto ipsius Ecclesiæ præcipua vel potius omnia ferè membra, ad veterem disciplinam et instituta, à quibus non parum declinárunt, revocentur;*"—"to consider how the principal members of the Church, or rather almost all the members, might be reduced to their ancient discipline and ordinances, from which they had swerved 10 much [b]." Yet, when himself was sent afterwards by Paul the Fourth to reform the Church of England [c], it seemeth that he had forgotten those great deviations of the principal members, and those very representations, which he himself, with eight other selected Cardinals and Prelates, had made upon oath to Paul the Third. Then he saw, that this 'lying flattering principle,' that "the Pope is the lord of all benefices and therefore cannot be a simoniack," was the fountain, "*Ex quo tanquam ex equo Trojano irrupere in Ecclesiam Dei tot abusus et tam gravissimi morbi,*" &c.—"from which, as from the Trojan horse, so many abuses and so grievous diseases had broken into the Church of God," 'and brought it to a desperate condition, to the derision of Christian religion and blaspheming of the name of Christ:' and "that the cure must begin there, from whence the disease did spring [d]," by taking away all abuses in dispensations of all kinds, and ordinations, and collations, and provisions, and pensions, and permutations, and reservations, and coadjutorships, and expectative graces, and unions, and non-residence, and exemptions, and absolu-

[a] Goldast., [ibid.,] P. ii. pp. 29, 31.

[b] Regin. Polus, De Concilio, [in fin.], fol. 86, 1. [edit. Venet. 1562.]

[c] Reformatio Angliæ, [by Card. Pole], edit. Venet. 1562. [fol. 94, 2. 95, 1.]

[d] Consil. delect. Cardinal. [de Emend. Eccles., Paulo III. jubente conscriptum,] edit. Lutetiæ anno 1612, pp. 131, &c. [et in Append. ad Fascic. Rer. Expetend. et Fugiend., p. 231.]

tions, and all such pecuniary artifices: because "it is not lawful by any means to reap any gain from the exercise of the power of the Keys." "*Tollantur*" (say they) "*hæ maculæ*," &c.—"Let these spots be taken away, to which if any entrance be given in any commonwealth or kingdom whatsoever, it must needs fall headlong, instantly or very shortly, to ruin[e]."

[The German emperors did not only desire, but in some measure effect, a reformation.] Thirdly, I answer, that the emperors and the German Church did not only desire a reformation, (as appeareth by the letter of Sigismond the emperor to the king of France,—"*Maximo desiderio jamdudum tenebamur*," &c.—"We have long desired greatly to see the only Spouse of Christ, the Catholic Church, happily reformed in our days, but after we were assumed to the imperial government, our desire passed into command[f]," &c.; and [by] the "Advices of Constance," conceived by the deputies of the German nation in that Council against some special abuses of the Pope and his Cardinals[g]; and by the "Advices of Mentz, made and concluded in that city by the States of the Empire, in the time of the Council of Basle," for preserving the authority of general Councils, for relief from grievances, for procuring of conditions from the Pope, for preservation of their just liberties, and for prevention of the abuses and excesses and extortions of the Roman Court[h]; and by the "Hundred Grievances of the German Nation," proposed to the Pope's legate by the Princes and lords of the Roman Empire against the injuries, extortions, and usurpations of the See of Rome, and the encroachments and oppressions of ecclesiastical courts and persons[i]: and, lastly, by the gracious promise of Charles the Fifth to 'hold a Diet within half a year, wherein it should be resolved, what way the differences in religion should be settled and quieted, whether by a general or national Council, or imperial Diet[k]':)—neither did the emperor and the German nation only endeavour to reform, but they did in some measure actually reform, the exeesses of the

[A.D. 1415.] [A.D.1416] [A.D.1427] [A.D.1522] [A.D.1552]

[e] [Ibid.] p. 140. [et in Append. ad Fascic. Rer. &c., pp. 231-234.]

[f] Goldast., [C. I. ed. 1607.] P. i. p. 146., in an. 1415.

[g] Idem, [ibid., P. i.] pp. 149[-151, in an. 1416.]

[h] Idem, [ibid., P. i.] pp. 155[-159, in an. 1427.]

[i] Idem, [ibid.] P. ii. pp. 36[-58, in ann. 1522, 1523.]

[k] Idem, [ibid.] P. ii. p. 177. ["Transact. Patav." &c. c. i. § 1. A.D. 1552.]

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Roman Court, and other ecclesiastical abuses and innovations; as it hath already been verified of Charles the Great, and Ludoviens Pius. This appeareth yet more plainly by the "*Concordats*" (as they are styled) "of the German Nation with Gregory the Thirteenth[l];" and the agreements of Frederic the Third and the Princes of the Empire with Pope Nicholas the Fifth[m]; whereby the exeesses and abuses of the Roman Court are something abated and reduced; and by the "Ghostly or Ecclesiastical Reformation" made by Sigismond the emperor in the year 1436, containing thirty-seven chapters or artieles, for regulating the Pope and his Court, Cardinals, Archbishops, Bishops, Suffragans, Abbots, monks, friars, nuns, and all sorts of ecclesiastical or religious persons[n]. (I cannot here omit a witty answer of this emperor, as he was deliberating with some ecclesiastical persons about a reformation, and one said it must begin with the Minimes. No, said he, "*non à Minoritis, sed à Majoritis*"—"not with the Minimes, but with the Maximes," or great ones, 'that is, the Pope and the Cardinals[o],' and the Court of Rome.) This appears also by the *Interim*, or 'Declaration of Religion' made by Charles the Fifth, attested with his imperial seal, and accepted and approved by the States of the Empire, assembled in a Diet at Augsburg, May 15 in the year 1548, where the whole exercise of religion is established "until the definition of a Counеil" (I produce it not to shew what it was, but what power the emperor did assume in point of religion); wherein these words are contained,—"*Quod autem in supradictâ declaratione sub rubricâ, de ceremoniis et usu Sacramentorum inter alia dicitur, 'in quas tamen si quid irrepsit quod causam dare possit superstitioni, tollatur,' reservat sibi soli Cæsarea Majestas,*" &c.—"and whereas in the aforesaid declaration, under the rubrie of ceremonies and the use of the Sacraments, among other things it is said, '*into the which nevertheless, if any thing have crept that may administer occasion of superstition, let it be taken away,*' his imperial Majesty doth reserve unto himself alone in this and the like articles, where and as often

[The Concordats, &c.]

[A.D.1576]

[A.D.1447]

[A.D.1436]

[The Interim.]

[l] Idem, [ibid.] P. i. pp. 207[-209 "Concordata," &c.]

[m] Idem, [ibid. P. i.] pp. 211[-212, in an. 1447.]

[n] Idem, [ibid. P. i.] pp. 170[-187.]

[o] Catal. Testium Veritatis, [a M. Flaccio Illyrico, lib. xix. p. 1877. B.C., ed. Genev. 1608.]

as it shall be needful, now and hereafter, the right to correct, to add, to detract, as it shall seem just and equal to himself, according to the present exigence of affairs [p]." Lastly, this appeareth by the declaration of Ferdinand the emperor, made in the year 1555, in favour of the Augustan Confession, and the professors thereof [q]. DISCOURSE II. [The declaration of the emperor Ferdinand.]

2. Secondly, the kings of England, in their great Councils, did make themselves the last judges of the liberties, and grievances, and necessities, of their people, even in cases ecclesiastical,—not the Pope. They had reason. In vain is the Court of Rome's determination expected against itself.

The emperors did the same. So Lodovic the Fourth, in his "Apology against Pope John the Twenty-second," declareth that 'the Pope ought not, cannot, be a competent judge in his own cause [r].' The Pope challenged such a confirmation of the emperor, without which his election was invalid. The emperor determined the contrary, in the Diet of Frankfort, an. 1338:—"*Declaramus quod imperialis dignitas est immediate à solo Deo*," &c.—"We declare, that the imperial dignity is immediately from God alone;" 'and that election gives a sufficient title;' 'and that the Pope's approbation or disapprobation signifies nothing [s].' The Pope attempted to divide Italy from the German empire by his fulness of power. The emperor declares the act to be invalid, and of no moment [t]. When the Princes and States of the Empire had presented the hundred grievances of the German nation to the Pope's legate, they add this conclusion: "*Quod si enumerata onera atque gravamina*," &c.—"But if the abovesaid burdens and grievances be not removed within the time limited, or sooner, from the eyes of men, and abolished and abrogated (which the lay-states of the empire do not expect), then they would not have his Holiness to be ignorant, that they neither can nor will bear or endure the aforesaid most pressing and intolerable burdens any longer [u]," but find out other means of ease, and vindicate their former liberties and immunities. As the sense of their sufferings was their own, so they would have

The emperors made themselves the last judges of their [own] liberties and necessities [, and of those of their people]. [A.D. 1522]

[p] Goldast., [C. I. ed. 1607.] P. ii. p. 109. [in Declarat. Procœmio, § 12.]
[q] Idem, [ibid.] P. ii. pp. 197, 198.
[r] Idem, [ibid.] P. i. p. 103.
Idem, [ibid., P. i.] p. 99.
[t] [Idem, ibid., P. i. pp. 102-104.]
[u] Idem, [ibid.] P. ii. p. 58.

PART I. [A.D.1338] the remedy to be their own, and not leave the cure to a tyrannical court. To this add the protestation and the oath of the electoral College, and the other Princes of the Empire, mentioned in their letter to Benedict the Twelfth:—"*Quod jura, honores, bona, libertates, et consuetudines imperii*," &c.—"That they would maintain, defend, and preserve inviolated, with all their power and might, the rights, honours, goods, liberties, and customs, of the empire, and their own electoral right belonging to them by law or custom, against all men, of what pre-eminence, dignity, or state soever" (that is to say, in plain terms, against the Pope and his Court), "notwithstanding any perils, or mandates, or processes, whatsoever [x]"—that is, notwithstanding any citations, or Bulls, or excommunications, or interdictions, from Rome. Take but [A.D.1648] one instance more: Ferdinand, the present emperor, out of an unavoidable necessity, to extinguish the flame of a bloody intestine war and to save the empire from utter ruin, contracts a peace with the king of France, the Swedes, and their adherents; whereby sundry Bishoprics and other ecclesiastical dignities were conferred upon Protestants; lands and other hereditaments of great value were alienated from the Church in perpetuity; free exercise of their religion was granted to those of the Augustan Confession; annates, confirmations, and other pretended Papal rights, were abolished. The Pope's extraordinary nuncio protested against it. And Pope Innocent himself, by his Bull bearing date Nov. 26 in the year 1651, declared "the contract to be void, annulled it, and condemned it" as "injurious and prejudicial to the orthodox religion, to the See of Rome, and to the rights of Holy Church," "notwithstanding the municipal laws" and "immemorial customs" of the empire, and "notwithstanding any oaths" taken for the observation thereof [y]. Yet the emperor and the Princes of Germany stand to their contracts, assert the municipal laws and customs of the empire, and assume unto themselves to be the only judges of their own privileges and necessities [z].

[x] Idem, [ibid.] P. i. p. 100. [in an. 1338.]

[y] Bulla Innocent. [X.], impressa Romæ anno 1651: [et in fine "Exam. Bull. Papal. Innoc. X." a J. Hoornbeck, Ultraj. 1653.]

[z] [Heydegger, Hist. Papat., Period. vii. § 258, 259.—Jäger., Hist. Eccles. et Polit. sec. XVII, lib. viii. c. 2.]

3. Thirdly, Henry the Eighth challenged to himself the patronage of Bishopries, and investitures of Bishops, within his own dominions. DISCOURSE II.

The emperors did more. Adrian the Fourth taxed Frederic the First for requiring homage and fealty of Bishops,— "*et manus eorum sacratas manibus tuis innectis*,"—and that 'he held their consecrated hands in his hands.' The emperor denied it not, but justified it;—"*Ab his qui regalia nostra tenent, cur homagium et regalia sacramenta non exigamus?*"—"Why may we not require homage and oaths of allegiance from them, who hold their lands of our imperial crown[a]?" The ecclesiastical lords, in their letter to Innocent the Third, do acknowledge, that "the fees which they held from the empire, they had received at the hands of Otho the Fourth, and had done him homage, and sworn fealty to him[b]:" and this before his imperial coronation at Rome. Henry the Fifth goes yet further, and accuseth Pope Paschal, that without any hearing he sought to take away from the empire the investitures of Bishops, which "the emperors his predecessors had enjoyed from the time of Charlemagne by the space of four hundred years and upwards[c]:"—a fair prescription. But this is not all. The emperors did long enjoy the patronage of the Papacy itself, and the disposition of the Roman Bishopric. Adrian the First, with the whole clergy and people of Rome, quitted all their claim, right, and interest, to Charles the Great, as well in the elections of Popes, as investitures of Bishops[d]. And Leo the Eighth did the like to Otho the First[e]; which is a truth in history so apparent, that no man can deny it with his credit, nor question it with reason.

Emperors enjoyed investitures. [A.D.1157] [A.D.1200] [A.D.1110] [A.D.774.] [A.D.964]

4. Fourthly, the kings of England suffered no appeals to Rome out of their kingdoms, nor Roman legates to enter into their dominions without their license.

No more did the emperors, though they acknowledge the Roman Bishop to be their Patriarch, which we do not. Hadrian the Fourth complained of Frederic the First, that "he

Emperors have excluded legates, &c.;

[a] [Goldast., C. I.] P. i. pp. 58, 59.
[b] Idem, [ibid., P. i.] p. 72. [in an. 1200.]
[c] Idem, [ibid., P. i.] p. 53. [Constitut. Henr. V. de Investituris, A. D. 1110.]
[d] Idem, [ibid., P. i.] p. 1.
[e] Idem, [ibid., P. i.] pp. 34[-37. in an. 964.]

PART I. [A.D.1158]

shut both the churches and the cities of his kingdom against the Pope's legates *à latere;*"—and more fully in his letter to the German Bishops, that "he had made an edict," that "no man out of his kingdom should have recourse to the Apostolic See[f]." To the former part of the charge the emperor answers,—"*Cardinalibus vestris clausæ sunt ecclesiæ, et non patent civitates, quia non videmus eos prædicatores, sed prædatores; non pacis corroboratores, sed pecuniæ raptores; non orbis reparatores, sed auri insatiabiles corrasores:*"—"our churches and cities are shut to your Cardinals, because we do not see them preachers, but robbers; not confirmers of peace, but extorting catchers of money; not repairers of the world, but insatiable scrapers together of gold[g]." Thus much he wrote to the Pope himself. To the second part of the charge he answers, that "he had not shut up the entrance into Italy or the passage out of Italy by edict, nor would shut it up to travellers, or such as had necessary occasions and the testimony of their Bishops for their voyage to the See of Rome; but he intended to remedy those abuses, by which all the Churches of his kingdom were burdened and impoverished[h]." That the whole body of the empire were of the same mind, it [A.D.1427] appears by the Advices of Mentz[i]; and by the Hundred [A.D.1522] Grievances of the German nation, which the Princes and Peers of the Empire protested that they neither could, nor would, endure any longer[j].

5. Fifthly, the kings of England declared the Pope's Bulls to be void. They had good reason, for they were not under his jurisdiction, nor within the sphere of his activity.

And neglected the Pope's Bulls, &c.; A. D. 1459.

The emperors did not so generally, but yet they took upon them to be judges whether the Pope's key did err or not. Pius the Second by his Bull condemned all appeals from the Pope to a general Council, "as erroneous, detestable," "void, and pestilent," and subjected all those who should use them after two months to "excecration, *ipso facto*," of what condition soever they were, emperors, kings, or Bishops[k]. Yet long A. D. 1526. after this Charles the Fifth appealed from Clement the

[f] Idem, [ibid., P. i.] pp. 58. 61.
[g] [Idem, ibid., P. i.] p. 59.
[h] [Idem, ibid., P. i. p. 62.]
[i] c. 13. [ap. eund., ibid., P. i. p. 158.]
[j] cc. 5. 6. 7. 8. [ap. eund., ibid., P. ii. pp. 38, 39.]
[k] [Bulla Pii II.] an. 1459. [§ 3 et 4. ap. eund., ibid., P. i. pp. 212, 213.]

Seventh to a general Council; "*Ad sacri generalis Concilii et totius Christianitatis cognitionem et judicium remittenda censuimus; illique nos et omnia quæ cum S. vestrâ habere possumus aut deinceps habituri sumus, omnino subjicimus*[1]:" wherein he did but insist in the steps of his predecessors. Lewis the Fourth did the same to John the Twenty-second, and in the Diet of Frankfort decreed "them all that should assent to the Pope's Bull to be guilty of treason, and to have forfeited all their fees which they held of the Empire; because the sentence of a Pope contrary to God, or to Holy Scripture, or to that due obedience which a subject owes to his prince, is of no moment or validity[m]." And such the Princes and Peers of the Empire did unanimously declare the Pope's Bull to be, —"*contra Deum, et justitiam, et juris ordinem*"—'contrary to God, contrary to Holy Scripture, and contrary to due order of law[n].' 108

Discourse II.

[A.D.1338]

6. Sixthly, Henry the Eighth deprived the Pope of his annates, tenths, and first-fruits, in England; of his pall-money, and other extorted revenues.

What did the emperor and Germans less than he? In the Advices of Mentz it is concluded, that "the Pope shall receive nothing, either before or after," for confirmations, elections, admissions, collations, provisions, presentations, Holy Orders, palls, benedictions, &c. upon pain that the transgressor thereof, either in exacting, or giving, or promising, "should incur the punishment due to a simoniacal person[o]." And though these were but "Advices," yet the King of the Romans and Electors did covenant mutually to assist and defend one another in the maintenance of them against all men[o]; and, yet further, procured them to be confirmed and enlarged in the Council of Basle, by the addition of investitures, Bulls, annates, first-fruits, &c.[p] This was too sweet a morsel for the Pope to lose willingly, when the Archbishop of Mentz paid for his pall (worth about six-

And seized upon Papal pretended rights; [A.D.1427]

[A.D.1435]

[1] Rescript. Carol. V. ad Criminat. P. Clement. VII., anno 1526. [ap. eund., ibid., P. ii. p. 100.]

[m] Idem, [ibid.,] P. i. pp. 99. 104. [in an. 1338.]

[n] Idem, [ibid., P. i.] p. 100.

[o] Cap. 10. et in Conclusione, [ap. eund., ibid., P. i. pp. 158, 159.]

[p] [Act. Concil. Basil.] Sess. 21. [(A. D. 1435), can. 1, ap. Labb., Concil., tom. xii. p. 552. B. C. D.]

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pence) thirty thousand florins[q]. By the "Concordates" or Accord, made between the emperor, and Princes of Germany,
[A.D.1447] and Nicholas the Fifth, the annates are in part remitted, or
[A.D.1522] taken away[r]. The Estates of the Empire assembled at Nurenberg represented to Adrian the Sixth, that "annates were given for maintenance of the war against the Turks," and 'how comely a thing it were that they should be restored to the same use.' The Princes added farther, that they were but granted "for a certain term, which was effluxed[s]." The Hundred Grievances rest not here, but say moreover, that "they were but deposited at Rome, to be preserved faithfully
[A.D.1526] for that use[t]." And, lastly, Charles the Fifth, in his Rescript, tells the Pope, that "other kings do not suffer the spoils of the Churches and annates to be transported out of their kingdoms to Rome, so universally, and so abundantly[u]."

7. Seventhly, to draw to a conclusion, Henry the Eighth imposed an oath of fidelity or allegiance upon his subjects, ecclesiastical as well as temporal.

And have imposed oaths of allegiance. [A.D.1158]

So did Frederic, the first emperor of that name:—"I swear, that from henceforth I will be faithful to my liege lord, Frederic, the Emperor of the Romans, against all men" (the Pope is included, or rather intended principally), "as by law I am bound; and I will help him to retain his imperial crown, and all his honour in Italy," &c.[x]

8. Henry the Eighth took away Popish pardons, and indulgences, and dispensations.

The Germans against pardons, indulgences, &c. [A.D.1522]

The German nation likewise groaned under the burden of them. Among their Hundred Grievances, that of dispensations was the first; and that of Papal indulgences the third; either for sins past, or to come, "*modo tinniat dextra*" (it is their own phrase). They call these artifices mere "impostures," 'by which the very marrow of Germany was sucked up, their ancient liberty was enervated, and the merit of Christ's Passion became slighted[y].'

[q] [27,000 florins was the sum exacted from James, who was Abp. from 1504 to 1508 (Goldast., C. I., tom. ii. ed. 1609. p. 120).]

[r] [Goldast., C. I., P. i. pp. 207. 209. 212.]

[s] [Carol. V. Epist., c. 3; et Respons. Princip. &c., c. 10. ap.] Goldast., [ibid.] P. ii. pp. 24 et 32. [in an. 1522.]

[t] Cap. 19. [ap. eund., ibid., P. ii. p. 43.]

[u] Rescript. [Carol. V., &c.], num. 44. [ap. eund., ibid., P. ii. p. 98.]

[x] Goldast., [ibid.] P. i. p. 64. [in an. 1158.]

[y] Gravam. 1. et 3. [ap. eund., ibid., P. ii. pp. 36, 37;—very loosely translated.]

9. Lastly, Henry the Eighth abolished the usurped jurisdiction of the Bishop of Rome, within his dominions.

Emperors have deposed Popes, and appealed from them, &c.

The emperors did not so;—whether they thought it not fit to leave an old Patriarch; or because they did not sufficiently consider the right bounds of imperial power, especially being seconded with the authority of an Occidental Council; or because they did not so clearly distinguish between a "beginning of unity" and an universality of jurisdiction; or because they had other remedies wherewith to help themselves; I cannot determine. But this we have seen, that the emperors have deposed Popes, and have appealed from Popes to general Councils, and have maintained their imperial prerogatives against Popes, and made themselves the last judges of the liberties and necessities of the whole body politic.

Frederic the Third, in the Diet of Nurenberg, sequestered [A.D.1466] all the moneys that should be raised in three years from indulgences and absolutions, whether Papal or Conciliary, towards the raising of twenty thousand men for defence of the empire against the Turk[z]. The resolution of the elect [A.D.1077] Archbishop of Trevers against Gregory the Seventh, was this, 109 —"*Nè plus per hunc Sancta, quæ modo extremum trahit spiritum, periclitetur Ecclesia, ex me dico, quod nullam ei posthac obedientiam servabo,*" &c.—"lest the holy Church which is now brought to the last gasp incur more danger by his means, I speak of myself, that hereafter I will perform no obedience to him" (that is, Pope Hildebrand)[a]. Neither was this his resolution alone. All the German Bishops were of the same mind:—"Because thy entrance into the Papacy was begun with so great perjuries; and the Church of God is brought into such a grievous storm through the abuse of thy innovations; and thy life and conversation is soiled with so manifold infamy: as we promised thee no obedience, so we let thee know, that for the future we will perform none unto thee." "*Et quia nemo nostrûm* (*ut publicè declamas*) *tibi hactenus fuit Episcopus, ita nulli nostrûm à modo eris Apostolicus*[b]"—"And as thou hast reputed none of us for Bishops hitherto, so hereafter none of us will esteem thee for the successor of

[z] [Decree of Frederic III. at Norcmberg in 1466,] num. 8, ap. Goldast. [ibid.] P. i. pp. 214, 215.

[a] [Idem, ibid., P. i.] p. 47.

[b] [Idem, ibid., P. i.] p. 48.

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St. Peter:"—which sentence was confirmed by the emperor; "*Ego Henricus Rex cum omnibus Episcopis meis tibi dico, Descende, descende*[c]."

[A.D.1409] The first Council of Pisa did not only substract their obedience from Peter de Luna, calling himself Benedict the Thirteenth, and Angelus de Corario, calling himself Gregory the Twelfth; but they decreed that it was lawful for all Christians, and accordingly did command them, to substract their obedience from them:—of which Council the Council of Constance was

[A.D.1511] a continuation. The second Council of Pisa suspended Julius the Second from the Papacy, and commanded all Christians to withdraw their obedience from him. The former had the consent of the emperor: the latter his assistance and protection; as appeareth both by the solemn promise of the emperor's ambassadors made in Council, and the acknowledgment of the Council itself[d].

[Two answers of German Bishops.] [A.D.497.]

I will conclude this first part of my parallel,—concerning the empire,—with two answers of German Bishops. The first of the German and French to Anastasius the Second; wherein they tell him plainly, that "they did not understand that new compassion, wherewith the Italian physicians used to cure the infirmities of France:" they tax them for seeking to restrain "the absolution of souls" to Rome; they require 'that Italian Bishop that is without sin to cast the first stone at them;' they advise them 'not to use their pretended authority against their Bishops, lest the blow should recoil upon themselves, for that theirs had not learned to fear above that which was needful;' they tell them, that surely they in Italy think that the Gauls had lost all these three, "*verbum, ferrum, et ingenium*"—"their tongues, their wits, and their weapons;" and so they conclude,—"*Etiamsi inclinata esset arca Testamenti nostri, . . . nostrorum Episcoporum esset, et non illorum, inclinatam relevare*"—"although the ark of their Covenant was falling, yet it belonged to their own Bishops, and not to them, to lift it up again[e]." The other answer was of the

[c] [Idem, ibid., P. i. p. 50.]

[d] [Act. Primi Concil. Pisan. (the second in Cave's reckoning), A. D. 1409,] Sess. viii, ix, et ultima; [ed. Paris. 1612, pp. 8. 10. 43.—and for the consent of the emperor (Maximilian), the "Testimonia" prefixed to that edition.]—Promotiones Concil. Pisan. [II., A. D. 1511.], pp. 32. 172. [in fin. Act. Ini. Concil., ed. 1612.]

[e] Ex schedis Joannis Aventini, ap. Goldast., in Rationali [ad tom. i. Constitut. Imperial.], pp. 48, 49.

Archbishops of Cologne and Triers with the Synod of Cologne to Nicholas the First: wherein, after many bitter expressions, they have these words;—"*His de causis nos cum fratribus nostris et collegis neque edictis tuis stamus neque vocem tuam agnoscimus neque tuas Bullas tonitruaque tua timemus*"—"For these reasons we, with our brethren and colleagues, do neither give place to thy edicts, nor acknowledge thy voice, nor fear thy thundering Bulls[f]."

DISCOURSE II. [A.D.863.]

I expect that some will be ready to object, that these substractions were but personal, from the present Pope, not from the See of Rome; which is true in part. But the same equity and rule of justice, which warrants a separation from the person of the Pope for personal faults, doth also justify a more durable separation from the See of Rome, that is, from him and his successors, for faulty rules and principles, either in doctrine or discipline, until they be reformed.

II. From Germany our pass is open into France; where the case is as clear as the sun, how their kings (though acknowledged by the Popes themselves to be "most Christian," "the eldest sons of the Church," and otherwise the great patrons and protectors of the Roman See), with their princes of the blood, their peers, their parliaments, their ambassadors, their schools and universities, have, all of them, in all ages, affronted and curbed the Roman Court, and reduced them to a right temper and constitution, as often as they deviated from the canons of the Fathers, and encroached upon the libertics of the Gallican Church: whereby the Pope's jurisdiction in France came to be merely discretionary, at the pleasure of the king.

II. The French no vassals of the Roman Court.

Hincmar had been condemned by three French Synods for a turbulent person, and deposed. Pope Adrian the Second takes cognisance of the cause at Rome, and requires Carolus Calvus the king of France, to send Hincmar thither with his accusers, to receive justice. The king's 'Apologetic Answer' will shew how he relished it. "*Valde mirati sumus ubi hoc dictator epistolæ scriptum invenerit, esse Apostolicâ authoritate præcipiendum, ut rex, corrector iniquorum et districtor reorum, atque secundum leges ecclesiasticas atque mundanas ultor criminum, reum legaliter ac regulariter pro excessibus suis damnatum,*

[The case of Hincmar. A.D. 871.]

[f] [Idem,] ibid., p. 50.

PART I.

sua fretum potentia, Romam dirigat"—"We wondered much where he who dictated the Pope's letter hath found it written, as commanded by Apostolical authority, that a king, who is the corrector of the unjust, the punisher of guilty persons, and, according to all laws ecclesiastical and civil, the revenger of crimes, should send a guilty person, legally and regularly condemned for his excesses, to Rome." He tells him, that the kings of France were reputed "*terrarum domini*," not "*Episcoporum vice-domini*," or "*Villici*"—"lords paramount within their dominions, not lieutenants or bailiffs of Bishops." —"*Quis igitur hanc inversam legem infernus evomuit? Quis tartarus de suis abditis et tenebrosis cuniculis eructavit?*"—"What hell hath disgorged this disorderly law? What bottomless depth hath beleched it up out of its hidden and obscure holes[h]?"

[The kings of France have convented the Popes before them;]

The kings of France have convented the Popes before them. So Charles the Great dealt with Leo the Third[i]; and Lotharius with Leo the Fourth[k].

[Have appealed from Popes to Councils;]

The kings of France have appealed from Popes to Councils. So Philip the Fourth, with the advice of all the Orders of France and the whole Gallican Church, appealed from Boniface the Eighth, and commanded his appeal to be published in the great church at Paris[l]. So Henry the Great appealed from Gregory the Fourteenth, and caused his appeal to be affixed to the gates of St. Peter's Church in Rome[m]. So the School of Sorbonne appealed from Boniface the Eighth[n], Benedict the Eleventh[o], Pius the Second[p], and Leo the Tenth[q].

[e] Goldast., Constitut. Imperial., P. i. p. 24. [in an. 871.]

[h] [Idem, ibid., P. i. p. 25.]

[i] [Platin., in Vitâ Leon. III., p. 119, 1.]

[k] [Id., in V. Leon. IV., p. 124, 2.]

[l] [Traictéz des Libertéz de l'Eglise Gallicane, Preuves, c. 7. nos. xiii—xvii. c. 13. nos. i.—ix.—Du Puy, Hist. du Différend d'entre le Pape Boniface VIII. et Philippe le Bel &c., Paris. 1655. folio.]

[m] [Thuan., Hist., lib. ci. § 14.—Davila, Hist. delle Guer. Civ. di Franc., lib. xii.—Mém. de la Ligue, tom. iv. pp. 358 &c.—Traictéz &c., Preuves, c. 4. nos. xxiii.—xxx: where however nothing is said of St. Peter's.]

[n] [Traictéz &c., Preuves, c. 13. no. iii. —Hist. du Différend &c., p. 119. An. 1303.]

[o] [Benedict XI. *retracted* the acts of his predecessor Bonif. VIII.; nor was there any appeal of the School of Sorbonne from him. Pithæus (Traictéz &c. tom. i. p. 20), from whom Bramhall quotes, seems to have intended their appeal from Benedict XIII. in 1396 (Du Boulay, Hist. Univ. Paris., secul. vi. pp. 803, &c.): See Traictéz &c., Preuves, c. 20. no. xix., and Maillane's edition of the Traictéz, &c., Art. lxxviii.]

[p] [See the Ann. d' Aquitaine par J. Bouchet, Partie iv. fol. 119, 2. (in an. 1467.), quoted in the Traictéz &c., Preuves, c. 13. no. xi.]

[q] [Appellatio Univ. Paris. &c. adv. Concordata Bononiens., A. D. 1517, in confirmation of the Council of Basle; in the Traictéz &c., Preuves, c. 13. no. xviii.; and the Fascic. Rer. Expetend. et Fugiend., pp. 68—71. ed. 1690.]

[Have protested against the Pope's decrees;] [A.D.1563]

The kings of France have protested against the Pope's decrees, and slighted them; yea, in the very face of the Council of Trent. Witness that protestation of the ambassador of France, made in the Council in the name of the king his master. "We refuse to be subject to the commands and disposition of Pius the Fourth; we reject, refuse, and contemn, all the judgments, censures, and decrees, of the said Pius. And although (most Holy Fathers,) your religion, life, and learning, was ever, and ever shall be, of great esteem with us; yet, seeing indeed *you* do nothing, but all things are done at Rome rather than at Trent, and the things that are here published are rather the decrees of Pius the Fourth, than of the Council of Trent; we denounce and protest" here before you all, "that whatsoever things are decreed and published in this assembly, by the mere will and pleasure of Pius, neither the most Christian King will ever approve, nor the French Church ever acknowledge to be decrees of a general Council." 'Besides this, the king our master commandeth all his Archbishops, and Bishops, and Abbots, to leave this assembly, and presently to depart hence; then to return again, when there shall be hope of better and more orderly proceedings[r].' This was high and smart,—for the king and the Gallican Church so publicly to "reject, refuse, and contemn," all Papal decrees, and to challenge such an interest in, and power over, the French Archbishops and Bishops, as not only to license them, but to command them, to depart and leave the Council, whither they were summoned by the Pope.

[Have made laws to repress the insolencies and exorbitances of the Papal Court.] A.D.1267.

The French kings have made laws and constitutions from time to time, to repress the insolencies and exorbitances of the Papal Court, so often as they began to prejudice the liberties of the Gallican Church, with the unanimous consent of their princes, nobles, clergy, lawyers, and commons:—as against their bestowing of ecclesiastical dignities and benefices in France, and their gross simony and extortions in that way[s]; against the payment of annates and tenths to Rome, and A.D.1406. generally for all the liberties of the Church of France[t]; against A.D.1418.

[r] Goldast., [Constitut. Imperial., tom. iii. ed. 1610.] p. 57[3. Sept. A.D. 1563.]

[s] An. 1267. [viz. the Pragmatic Sanction of Louis IX., which is dated March, 1268;—Traictéz des Libertéz &c., Preuves, c. 15. no. xxxi.—Richer., Hist. Concil. Gener., lib. iii. c. 7. §1, 2. —and for this and the laws mentioned in the three following notes, the Defensio Parisiensis Curiæ quoted in p. 225, note k, cc. 6, 7. 9-11. 14.]

[t] An. 1406. [Ordonn. du Roy

PART I. A. D. 1438.

reservations, and Apostolical graces, and all other exactions of the Court of Rome[u]. Charles the Seventh made the Pragmatical Sanction, to confirm all the acts of the Councils of Constance and Basle against the tyranny and usurpation [A.D.1461] of the Pope[x]. It is true that Lewis the Eleventh, by the flattering persuasion of Æneas Sylvius, then Pius the Second, did revoke this Sanction. But the king's proctor, and the Rector of the University of Paris, did oppose themselves formally to the registering and authorizing of this revocation. Whereupon the king desired the advice of his parliament in writing, which they gave to this effect,—that "the revocation of that Sanction tended to the confusion of the whole ecclesiastical Order, the depopulation of France, the exhausting and impoverishment of the kingdom, and the total ruin of the A. D. 1478. French Church[y]." Hereupon the king changed his mind, and made divers declarations and edicts conformable to, [A.D.1483] and in pursuance of, the Pragmatical Sanction[z]. After this, the three Estates, assembled at Tours, made it their first and instant request to Charles the Eighth, that he would preserve inviolable the Pragmatical Sanction, which they reputed as [A.D.1510] the Palladium of France[a]. And in the national Council assembled by Lewis the Twelfth in the same city, it was [Julius II. A.D.1512.] again confirmed[b]. But the Pope stormed, and thundered, and 'excommunicated and interdicted Lewis the Twelfth,' Francis the First, and 'the whole realm, and exposed it as a

(Charles VI.) &c., against the exactions of the Pope's officers in France, Feb. 18; —Ordonn. du Roy &c., sur les libertéz de l'Eglise Gallicane &c., Feb. 18 (and May 15, 1408.), which is directed against reservations and expectative graces;—Arrest. Cur. Parliam. Paris. super annatis non solvendis, Sept. 11: in the Traictéz &c., Preuves, c. 22. nos. viii. ix. x.]

[u] An. 1418. [Ordonn. du Roy Charles VI. &c., against carrying money out of the realm to Rome, May 7;—Ordonn. du Roy &c., against the exactions (reservations and Apostolical graces included) of the Court of Rome, April 13: in the Traictéz &c., Preuves, c. 22. nos. xv. xvi.]

[x] An. 1438. [inter Acta Concil. Bituricens., ap. Labb., Concil., tom. xii. pp. 1429, 1432. It was printed with a history and a voluminous commentary by Pinsson, Paris. 1666. fol. See also Richer., Hist. Concil. Gener., lib. iii. c. 7. § 3; and Thomassin, Eccles. Vetus et Nov. Discipl., P. ii. lib. i. c. 45.]

[y] [Pro Libert. Eccles. Gallic., &c. Defens. Paris. Curiæ, c. 18. See also Richer., Hist. Conc. Gener., lib. iv. P. i. c. 1. § 7-14.—Traictéz &c., Preuves, c. 13. nos. x. xi.]

[z] As that of Aug. 16, 1478. ["Lettres Patentes du Roy portant défenses d'aller ny envoyer a Rome, &c., ny y porter or ou argent:"—Traictéz &c., Preuves, c. 20. no. xxvi.]

[a] An. 1518[3. Traictéz &c., pp. 249, 336. ed. 1639, et Preuves, c. 12. no. vi. —Daniel, Hist. de France, tom. viii. pp. 20, 22.]

[b] [An. 1510. See Massæi Chron., in an. 1510.—Daniel, Hist. de France, tom. viii. p. 526.]

prey to the first that could take it; and gave plenary indulgence to every one that should kill a Frenchman[c].' King Francis fainted under such fulminations, and came to a composition or accommodation with Leo the Tenth, which was called "Conventa," or the "Concordate[d]." On the one side, the Pope's friends think he wronged himself, and his title to a spiritual sovereignty, very much, by descending to such an accommodation; and exclude France out of the number of those countries which they term *pays d'obedience;* as if the French were not loyal obedient subjects, but rebels, to the Court of Rome. On the other side, the prelates, the universities, the parliaments of France, were as ill contented that the king should yield one inch, and opposed the accord: [A.D.1517] insomuch as the University of Paris appealed from it to a future Council, and expedited letters patents, sealed with the University's seal, containing at large their grievances, and the reasons of the appeal, which after were published to the world in print[e].

I cannot here omit the free and just speech of a French Bishop. When Henry the Fourth had, in a manner, ended the civil wars of France by changing from the Protestant to the Roman Catholic communion; yet the Pope, who favoured the contrary party, upon pretence of his dissimulation, and great dangers that might ensue thereupon, for a long time deferred his reconciliation, until the French Prelates, by their own authority, did first admit him into the bosom of the Church:—at which time one of them used this discourse, "Was France all on fire, and had they not rivers enough at home, but they must run as far as Rome, to Tiber, to fetch water to quench it?"

Since that, in Cardinal Richelieu's days, it is well known what books were freely printed, and publicly sold upon Pont Neuf, of the lawfulness of erecting a new, or rather restoring an old, proper Patriarchate in France, as one of the liberties

[c] [Traictéz &c.; p. 248. ed. 1639.—Spondan., Continuat. Annal. Baron., in an. 1512. num. 19, 23—25. Francis I. was not excommunicated.]

[d] [Bulla, quâ continentur Concordata &c., in Act. Concil. Lateran. V., Sess. xi. (A. D. 1516), ap. Labb., Concil., tom. xiv. pp. 291 sq.—Bulla Abrogat. Pragm. Sanct., ibid. pp. 309 sq.—Concordator. textus integer, ibid. pp. 358 sq.]

[e] [Richer., Hist. Concil. Gener., lib. iv. P. ii. c. 4. § 13, 14. The Appeal of the Univ. of Paris is printed (see p. 220 note q.) in the] Fascic. Rer. Expetend. et Fugiend., impressus [Coloniæ] 1535. [pp. 68-71. ed. 1690.]

PART I. of the Gallican Church[f]. It was well for the Roman Court, that they became more propitious to the French affairs.

Take one instance more which happened very lately. The Pope refused to admit any new Bishops in Portugal upon the [John IV.] nomination of the present king, because he would not thereby seem to acknowledge or approve his title to the crown, in prejudice of the king of Spain; whereby the Episcopal Order in Portugal and the other dominions belonging to that crown, was well near extinguished, and scarcely so many Bishops were left alive (or could not be drawn together), as to make a canonical ordination[g]. The three Orders of Portugal did represent to the Pope, that in the kingdoms of Portugal and the Algarbians, wherein ought to have been three Metropolitans and ten Suffragans, there was but one left, and he by the Pope's dispensation non-resident; and in all the Asiatic provinces but one other, and he both sickly and decrepit; and in all the African and American provinces, and the islands, not one surviving[h]. But the Pope continued inexorable: whereupon they present their request to their neighbours and friends, the French prelates, beseeching them to mediate for them with his Holiness; and, if he continue 11 still obstinately deaf to their just petition, to supply his defect themselves, and to ordain them Bishops in case of necessity. The French did the office of neighbours and Christians. The Synod of the French clergy did write to the Pope on their behalf, in April, 1651[i]. But that way not succeeding, they sent one of their Bishops as an express *envoyé* to his Holiness, to let him know, that, if he still refused, they cannot nor will be wanting to themselves, to their neighbours, but would supply his defect. What the issue of it is since, I have not yet heard.

[f] [See the tract of M. Jacques Capel, in fin., among the Traictéz &c.,—Le Long, Biblioth. Hist. de la France, liv. ii. c. vii. art. 1. num. 2515,—and Bayle, Dictionn., art. Le Marca, note C, there quoted.]

[g] Balatus Ovium, pp. 2, 3.[, being apparently the letter of the clergy of Portugal to Innocent X., in 1644. See a translation of it in Dr. Geddes' "Hist. of the Pope's behaviour to Portugal from 1641 to 1666," Miscellan. Tracts, vol. ii. pp. 103-108: in which and in Bull'aldus (Pro Eccles. Lusit. ad Cler. Gallic. libelli duo, ap. Gerdes., Scrin. Antiq., tom. viii. P. i. pp. 499 &c. Groning. 1763) will be found a full account of the whole affair.]

[h] Lusitaniæ Gemitus, p. 20. [quoted by Geddes, pp. 138-141, where however *two* Bishops are mentioned as remaining in the Asiatic provinces. It has not been found possible to meet with the original tract.]

[i] Epist. Cleri Gallicani ad Innocent X. Papam; [not to be met with. See a translation of their second letter to the Pope, sent by the Bishop of Beauvais their envoy, in 1652, in Geddes, pp. 143-146.]

The liberties of the French Church.

But to leave matter of fact, and to come to the fundamental laws and customs of France. Every one hath heard of the 'liberties of the French Church,' but every one understands not what those liberties are, as being better known by their practice at home, than by books abroad. I will only select some of them out of their own authentic authorities [k]. And when the reader hath considered well of them, let him judge what authority the Pope hath in France, more than discretionary at the good pleasure of the king, or more than he might have had in other places, if he could have contented himself with reason. Protestants are not so indiscreet or uncharitable, as to violate the peace of Christendom for a primacy or headship of order, without superiority of power; or for the name of 'his Holiness;' or for a pall, if the price were not too high; or for a few innocent formalities.

1. "The Pope cannot command or ordain any thing, directly or indirectly, concerning any temporal affairs, within the dominions of the king of France."

2. "The spiritual authority and power of the Pope is not absolute in France, but limited and restrained by the canons and rules of the ancient Councils of the Church, received in that kingdom." Where observe first, that the Pope can do nothing in France as a sovereign spiritual prince, with his *Non obstante*'s, either against the canons, or besides the canons; secondly, that the canons are no canons in France, except they be received. This same privilege was anciently radicated in the fundamental laws of England. This privilege the Popes endeavoured to pluck up by the roots. And the contentions about this privilege were one principal occasion of the separation.

3. 'No command whatsoever of the Pope can free the French clergy from their obligation to obey the commands of their sovereign.'

[k] Traictéz des Droits et Libertéz de l'Eglise Gallicane; [publ. at Paris by Pierre and Jacques Du Puy, at first in 1 vol. 4to. in 1609, and again in 1 vol. folio in 1639 with a 2nd. vol. of "Preuves;" re-arranged and publ. a 3rd time in 1651, and again in 1715 and 1731; and lastly by M. de Maillane in 5 vols. 4to. in 1771. See Dupin, Biblioth. des Auth. Eccles., Siècle xvii. liv. iii. c. 1, and the Preface of M. de Maillane.] —Pro Libertate Ecclesiæ Gallicanæ adversus Roman. Aulam Defensio Parisiensis Curiæ[, Ludovico XI. Gallor. Regi quondam oblata (viz. in 1461), as publ. in Latin by Duarenus, 8vo. Paris. 1585, and in his works (fol. 1592), pp. 1208, sq. It is also among the documents in Pinsson's Hist. Pragm. Sanct., and in Richer., Hist. Conc. Gener., lib. iv. P. i. c. 1. § 12. The original French is in the Traictéz &c.]

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[The liberties of the French Church.]

4. "The most Christian King hath had power at all times, according to the occurrence and exigence of affairs, to assemble or cause to be assembled Synods, provincial or national, and therein to treat, not only of such things as concern the conservation of the civil estate, but also of such things as concern ecclesiastical order and discipline" in his own dominions; and therein "to make rules, chapters, laws, ordinances, and Pragmatic Sanctions, in his own name, and by his own authority; many of which have been received among the decrees of the Catholic Church, and some of them approved by general Councils."

5. "The Pope cannot send a legate-*à-latere* into France, with power to reform, judge, collate, dispense, or do such other things accustomed to be specified in the authoritative Bull of his legation, except it be upon the desire or with the approbation of the most Christian King. Neither can the said legate execute his charge until he hath promised the king in writing, under his oath upon his Holy Orders, not to make use of his legantine power in the king's dominions longer than it shall please the king; and that, so soon as he shall be admonished of the king's pleasure to forbid it, he will give it over; and that, whilst he doth use it, it shall be exercised conformably to the king's will, without attempting any thing to the prejudice of the decrees of general Councils, or the liberties and privileges of the Gallican Church and the universities of France."

6. "The commissions and Bulls of the Pope's legates are to be seen, examined, and approved, by the Court of Parliament; and to be registered and published with such cautions and modifications as that Court shall judge expedient for the good of the kingdom, and to be executed according to the said cautions, and not otherwise."

7. "The Prelates of the French Church (although commanded by the Pope), for what cause soever it be, may not depart out of the kingdom without the king's commandment or license."

8. "The Pope can neither by himself nor by his delegates judge of any thing which concerneth the state, pre-eminence, or privileges, of the crown of France, nor of any thing pertaining to it: nor can there be any question or process

about the state or pretensions of the king, but in his own courts."

[The liberties of the French Church.]

9. "Papal Bulls, citations, sentences, excommunications, and the like, are not to be executed in France without the king's command, or permission; and after permission, only by authority of the king, and not by authority of the Pope, to shun confusion and mixture of jurisdictions."

10. 'Neither the king, nor his realm, nor his officers, can be excommunicated or interdicted by the Pope, nor his subjects absolved from their oath of allegiance.'

11. "The Pope cannot impose pensions in France upon any benefices having cure of souls, nor upon any others but according to the canons, according to the express condition of the resignation," or '*ad redimendam vexationem.*'

12. "All Bulls and missives which come from Rome to France are to be seen and visited, to try if there be nothing in them prejudicial in any manner to the estate and liberties of the Church of France, or to the royal authority."

13. 'It is lawful to appeal from the Pope to a future Council.'

14. Ecclesiastical persons may be convented, judged, and sentenced, before a secular judge, for the first grievous or enormous crime; or for lesser offences after a relapse, which renders them incorrigible in the eye of the law.

15. All the prelates of France are obliged to swear fealty to the king, and to receive from him their investitures for their fees and manors.

16. "The Courts of Parliament, in case of appeals as from abuse, have right and power to declare null, void, and to revoke, the Pope's Bulls and excommunications, and to forbid the execution of them, when they are found contrary to sacred decrees, the liberties of the French Church, or the prerogative royal."

17. General Councils are above the Pope, and may depose him, and put another in his place, and take cognizance of appeals from the Pope.

18. All Bishops have their power immediately from Christ, not from the Pope, and are equally successors of St. Peter and the other Apostles, and vicars of Christ.

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19. "Provisions, reservations, expectative graces, &c. have no place in France."

[The liberties of the French Church.]

20. The Pope cannot exempt any church, monastery, or ecclesiastical body, from the jurisdiction of their ordinary, nor erect Bishoprics into Archbishoprics, nor unite them, nor divide them, without the king's license.

21. All those are not heretics, excommunicated, or damned, who differ in some things from the doctrine of the Pope, who appeal from his decrees, and hinder the execution of the ordinances of him or his legates[1].

These are part of the liberties of the Gallican Church. The ancient British Church needed no such particular privileges, since they never knew any foreign jurisdiction; the English British Church, which succeeded them in time, in place, and partly in their members and Holy Orders, ought to have enjoyed the same freedom and exemption: but, in the days of the Saxon, Danish, and Norman kings, the Popes did by degrees insinuate themselves into the managery of ecclesiastical affairs in England. Yet for many ages the English Church enjoyed all these Gallican privileges, without any remarkable interruption from the Roman Court. As in truth they do of right by the law of nature belong to all sovereign princes in their own dominions: otherwise kingdoms should be "destitute of necessary remedies for their own conservation." And in later ages, when the Popes, having thrust in their heads, did strive to draw in their whole bodies after, the whole kingdom opposed them, and made laws against their several gross intrusions, as we have formerly seen in this discourse; and never quitted these English (as well as Gallican) liberties, until the Reformation.

III. The king of Spain asserts the liberties of his own Churches.

III. But perhaps we may find more loyalty and obedience to the Court of Rome in the Catholic King. Not at all. Whatsoever power King Henry or any of his successors did ever assume to themselves in England as the political Heads of the Church, the same and much more doth the Catholic

[1] [The "liberties" in the text, which are marked as quotations, are taken from the treatise of Pithou (publ. originally in 1594), which stands at the head of the Traictéz &c. tom. i. ed. 1639. The remainder may be found in different parts of the same collection.]

King not only pretend unto, but exercise and put in practice, in his kingdom of Sicily, both by himself, and by his delegates, "whom he substitutes with the same authority, to judge
114 and punish" all ecclesiastical crimes, "to excommunicate and absolve" all ecclesiastical persons, "laymen, monks, clerks, Abbots, Bishops, Archbishops, yea, and even the Cardinals themselves which inhabit in Sicily[m]." He suffers no "appeals to Rome;" he "admits no nuncios from Rome;" "*atque demum, respectu ecclesiasticæ jurisdictionis, neque ipsam Apostolicam Sedem recognoscere et habere superiorem, nisi in casu prœventionis*"—"and to conclude, he acknowledgeth not any superiority of the See of Rome itself, but only in ease of prevention[n]."

[In Sicily.]

What saith Baronius to this? He complains bitterly, that, "*prætensâ Apostolicâ authoritate, contra Apostolicam ipsam Sedem grande piaculum perpetratur*," &c.—"Upon pretence of Apostolic authority, a grievous offence is committed against the Apostolic See, ... the power whereof is weakened in the kingdom of Sicily, the authority thereof abrogated, the jurisdiction wronged, the ecclesiastical laws violated, and the rights of the Church dissipated[o]." And a little after he declaims yet higher;—"*Quid tu ad ista dixeris, lector?*"—"What wilt thou say to this, reader? but that, under the name of monarchy, besides that one monarch, which all the faithful have ever acknowledged as the only visible Head in the Church, another Head is risen up, and brought into the kingdom of Sicily, for a monster and a prodigy," &c.[p] But for this liberty which he took, the king of Spain, fairly and quietly, without taking any notice of his Cardinalitan dignity, caused his books to be burned publicly[q].

It will be objected, that the king of Spain challengeth this power in Sicily, not by his regal authority as a sovereign prince, but by the Bull of Urbanus the Second, who constituted Roger Earl of Sicily, and his heirs, his legates-*à-latere* in that kingdom, whereby all succeeding princes do challenge

[This power challenged by him in Sicily by the Bull of Urban II.]

[m] Edict. Carol. V., Decemb. 5. An. 1526. [as quoted by Baron., Annal., in an. 1097. num. 29.]

[n] Baron., Annal., tom. xi. in an. 1097. num. 29, edit. Mogunt. 1606.

[o] [Id.,] ibid., num. 28.

[p] [Id.,] ibid., num. 29.

[q] [See the edict of Philip III. in 1610, "contra Tractat. de Monarch. Sicil. a Cæs. Baron. xi. Annal. tomo insertum," ap. Goldast., Mon. S. Rom. Imp., tom. iii. pp. 619, 620.]

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to be *legati nati*, with power to substitute others, and qualify them with the same authority [r].

[Authority of the Pope to make such a Bull.]

1. But, first, if the Papacy be by Divine right, what power hath any particular Pope to transfer so great a part of his office and authority from his successors for ever, unto a layman and his heirs, by way of inheritance? If every Pope should do as much for another kingdom, as Urbanus did for Sicily, the Court of Rome would quickly want employment.

[Similar Bull of Nicholas II. to the kings of England.]

2. Secondly, if the Bull of Urbanus the Second was so available to the succeeding kings of Sicily, which yet is disputed whether it be authentic or not, whether it be full, or defcetive and mutilated; why should not the Bull of Nicholas the Second, his predecessor, granted to our Edward the Confessor and his successors [s], be as advantageous to the succeeding kings of England? Why not much rather? seeing that they are thereby constituted or declared, not legates, but governors, of the English Church, in the Pope's place, or rather in Christ's place; seeing that without all doubt Sicily was a part of the Pope's ancient Patriarchate, but Britain was not; and, lastly, seeing the situation of Sicily, so much nearer to Rome, renders the Sicilians more capable of receiving justice from thence, than the English.

[The self-same power assumed by the king of Spain in his other dominions.]

3. Thirdly, the king of Spain, when he pleaseth and when he sees his own time, doth not only pretend unto, but assume, in his other dominions, that self-same power or essential right of sovereignty, which I plead for in this treatise.

[Case of Urban VIII. and Philip IV. A.D. 1633.]

It is not unknown to the world, how indulgent a father Urban the Eighth was sometimes to the king and kingdom of France, and how passionately he affected the interest of that crown; and by consequence, that his ears were deaf to the requests and remonstrances of the king of Spain. The Catholic King resents this partiality very highly, and threatens the Pope, if he persist, to provide a remedy for the grievances of his subjects by his own power. Accordingly, to make good his word, he called a general assembly of all the Estates

[r] [Urban. II. Epist. xiii. dat. 5 Jul. 1098, ap. Labb., Concil., tom. x. pp. 437, 438.—et Baron., Annal., in an. 1097. num. 23.]

[s] [See p. 138, note r.]

of the kingdom of Castile, to consider of the exorbitancies of the Court of Rome in relation to his Majesty's subjects, and to consult of the proper remedies thereof. They did meet, and draw up a Memorial, consisting of ten articles, containing the chiefest abuses and innovations and extortions of the Court of Rome in the kingdom of Castile. His Majesty sends it to the Pope by Friar Domingo Pimentel, as his ambassador. The Pope returned a smart answer by Signior Maraldo his secretary. The king replied as sharply. All which was afterwards printed by the special command of his Catholic Majesty [t].

The sum of their complaint was,

[Complaints of the Estates of Castile.]

First, concerning the Pope's imposing of pensions upon dignities and other beneficcs ecclesiastical, even those which had cure of souls, in favour of strangers, in an excessive proportion, to the third part of the full value: that, although benefices were decayed, in many places of Spain, two third parts of the true value, yet the Court of Rome kept up the pensions at the full height; that it was contrived so, that the pensions did begin long before the beneficiaries entered upon their profits, insomuch as they were indebted sometimes two years' pensions, before they themselves could taste of the fruits of their benefices; and then the charge of censures, and other proceedings in the Court of Rome, fell so heavy upon them, that they could never recover themselves: and further, that, whereas all trade is driven in current silver, only the Court of Rome, which neither toils nor sweats nor hazards any thing, will be paid only in ducats of gold, not after the current rates, but according to the old value: that to seek for a remedy of these abuses at Rome, was such an insupportable charge, by reason of three instances and three sentences necessary to be obtained, that it was in vain to attempt any such thing. This they cried out upon as a most grievous yoke [u].

They complained likewise of the Pope's granting of coadjutorships with future succession, whereby ecclesiastical preferments were made hereditary, persons of parts and worth

[t] [See Heydegger, Hist. Papat., Period. vii. § 244; and from him, Andr. Carolus, Memorab. Sec. xvii, tom. i. lib. iv. c. 9.]

[u] Memorial de Sa Magestad Catolica, [viz. Philip IV., addressed to Urban VIII.] cc. 1, 2, 3. [not to be met with.]

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to be *legati nati*, with power to substitute others, and qualify them with the same authority [r].

[Authority of the Pope to make such a Bull.]

1. But, first, if the Papacy be by Divine right, what power hath any particular Pope to transfer so great a part of his office and authority from his successors for ever, unto a layman and his heirs, by way of inheritance? If every Pope should do as much for another kingdom, as Urbanus did for Sicily, the Court of Rome would quickly want employment.

[Similar Bull of Nicholas II. to the kings of England.]

2. Secondly, if the Bull of Urbanus the Second was so available to the succeeding kings of Sicily, which yet is disputed whether it be authentic or not, whether it be full, or defective and mutilated; why should not the Bull of Nicholas the Second, his predecessor, granted to our Edward the Confessor and his successors [s], be as advantageous to the succeeding kings of England? Why not much rather? seeing that they are thereby constituted or declared, not legates, but governors, of the English Church, in the Pope's place, or rather in Christ's place; seeing that without all doubt Sicily was a part of the Pope's ancient Patriarchate, but Britain was not; and, lastly, seeing the situation of Sicily, so much nearer to Rome, renders the Sicilians more capable of receiving justice from thence, than the English.

[The self-same power assumed by the king of Spain in his other dominions.]

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were excluded from all hopes, and a large gap was opened to most gross simony [x].

[Complaints of the Estates of Castile.]

They complained of the Pope's admitting of resignations with reservation of the greatest part of the profits of the benefice, insomuch that he left not above a hundred ducats yearly to the incumbent out of a great benefice [y].

They complained most bitterly of the extortions of the Roman Court, in the case of dispensations: that, whereas no dispensation ought to be granted without just cause, now there was no cause at all inquired after in the Court of Rome, but only the price; that a great price supplied the want of a good cause; that the gate was shut to no man that brought money; that their dispensations had no limits but the Pope's will; that for a matrimonial dispensation under the second degree, they took of great persons 8000 or 12,000 or 14,000 ducats [z].

They complained, that the Pope, being but the Church's steward and dispenser, did take upon him, as lord and master, to dispose of all the rights of all ecclesiastical persons; that he withheld from Bishops, being the true owners, the sole disposing of all ecclesiastical preferments, for eight months in the year; that he ought not to provide for his own profit, and the necessities of his Court, with so great prejudice to the right of ordinaries, and confusion of the ecclesiastical order, whilst he suffers not Bishops to enjoy their own patronages and jurisdictions [a]. They cite St. Bernard, where he tells Pope Eugenius, that "the Roman Church (whereof he was made governor by God) was the Mother of other Churches, but not the Lady or Mistress; and that he himself was not the Lord or Master of other Bishops, but one of them [b]."

They complained, that the Pope did challenge and usurp to himself, as his own, at their deaths, all clergymen's estates, that were gained or raised out of the revenue of the Church; that a rich clergyman could no sooner fall sick, but the Pope's collectors were gaping about him for his goods, and guards

[x] [Ibid.,] c. 4.
[y] [Ibid.,] c. 5.
[z] [Ibid.,] c. 6.
[a] [Ibid.,] c. 7.
[b] De Considerat. [adv. Eugen. Pap.,] lib. iv. c. 7. [ap. Goldast., S. Rom. Imp., tom. ii. p. 88.]

[Complaints of the Estates of Castile.]

set presently about his house; that, by this means, Bishops have been deserted upon their death-beds, and famished for want of meat to eat; that they have not had, before they were dead, a cup left to drink in, nor so much as a candle-stick of all their goods (it is their own expression); that, by this means, creditors were defrauded, processes in law were multiplied, and great estates wasted to nothing [c].

They complained, that the Popes did usurp as their own all the revenues of Bishoprics during their vacancies, sometimes for divers years together, all which time the churches were unrepaired, the poor unrelieved, not so much as one alms given, and the wealth of Spain exported into a foreign land, which was richer than itself. They wish the Pope "to take it as an argument of their respect to the See of Rome, that they do not go about forthwith to reform these abuses by their own authority, in imitation of other provinces[d]." 16 So it was not the unwarrantableness of the act in itself, but merely their respect, that did withhold them.

They complained of the great inconveniences and abuses in the exercise of the nuncio's office: that it is reckoned as a curse in Holy Scripture, to be governed by persons of a different language; that for ten crowns a man might purchase any thing of them; that the fees of their office were so great, that they alone were a sufficient punishment for a grievous crime. They added, that self-interest was the root of all these evils; that "such abuses as these gave occasion to all the reformations and schisms of the Church." They added, that these things did much trouble the mind of his Catholic Majesty, and ought to be seriously pondered by all sovereign princes; "*qui intra Ecclesiam potestatis adeptæ culmina tenent, ut per eandem potestatem disciplinam ecclesiasticam muniant*[e]:"—behold our political supremacy. They proceeded, that "often the Heavenly kingdom is advantaged by the earthly; that Churchmen, acting against faith and right discipline, may be reformed by the rigour of princes. Let the princes of this world know" (say they) "that they owe an account to God of the Church, which they have received from Him into their protection. For whether peace

[c] [Memorial, &c.] c. 8.
[d] [Ibid.,] c. 9.
[e] [Quot. from Gratian., Decret., P. ii. caus. xxiii. Qu. 5. c. 19.]

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[Complaints of the Estates of Castile.]

and right ecclesiastical discipline be increased or decayed by Christian princes, God will require an account from them, Who hath trusted His Church unto their power." They tell his Holiness, it was a work worthy of him, to turn all such courtiers out of his court, who did much hurt by their persons, and no good by their examples: adding this distich,—

> "*Vivere qui sancte cupitis, discedite Româ;*
> "*Omnia cum liceant, non licet esse bonum*[f]."

And for remedy of these abuses, they proposed, that the Pope's nuncios should not meddle with the exercise of ecclesiastical jurisdiction, but be merely in the nature of ambassadors; that all ecclesiastical causes should be determined at home, according to the canons; that the Pope should delegate the dispensation of matters of grace to some fit commissioners within the kingdom; that ecclesiastical courts or *Rota*'s should be erected within the realm, wherein all causes should be finally determined without recourse to Rome, except in such cases as are allowed by the ancient canons of the Church[g].

Lastly, they represented, that his Majesty was justly pressed by the continual clamours and reiterated instances of his subjects, to whose assistance and protection he was obliged to contribute whatsoever he was able, as their natural lord and king; to procure their weal with all his might, by all just means, according to the dictates of natural reason; and to remedy the grievances which they suffered in their persons, and in their goods, by occasion of such like abuses, not practised in other kingdoms: especially this proposition being so conformable to the Apostolical precepts, and to the sacred canons of Councils[h].

They tell the Pope, that their first address is to him, to whom as universal pastor the reformation thereof doth most properly belong, that "there might be no need to proceed to other remedies prescribed by the doctors of the Church." And in the margin they cite more than twenty several authors, to shew what the magistrate might do, in case the Pope should refuse or neglect to reform these abuses. So you see they confessed plainly, that there were other lawful remedies; and intimated sufficiently, that they must proceed

[f] [Ibid.,] c. 10. [g] Ibid., c. 10. [h] Ibidem.

to the use of them, in case the Pope refused or neglected to do his duty. That was for the sovereign prince, with his Bishops and Estates, to ease his subjects, and reform the abuses of the Roman Court within his own dominions: and this by direction of the law of nature, upon our former ground,—that "no kingdom is destitute of necessary remedies for its own preservation." But they chose rather to tell the Pope this unwelcome message in the names and words of a whole cloud of Roman Catholic doctors, than in their own.

[Complaints of the Estates of Castile.]

In fine, the Pope continued obstinate, and the king proceeded from words to deeds: and by his sovereign power stopped all proceedings in the nuncio's court; and for the space of eight weeks did take away all intercourse and correspondence with Rome (this was the first act of Henry the Eighth, which Sanders calls the "beginning of the schism [i]"); until the Pope, being taught by the costly experience of his predecessors, fearing justly what the consequents of these things might be in a little time, was contented to bow, and condescend to the king's desires.

[Other instances of the same kind.]

To shew yet further, that the kings of Spain, when they judge it expedient, do make themselves no strangers to ecclesiastical affairs, we read that Charles the Fifth renewed an edict of his predecessors at Madrid, that "Bulls and missives sent from Rome should be visited, to see that they contained nothing in them prejudicial to the crown or Church of Spain [j];" which was strictly observed within the Spanish dominions.

I might add, upon the credit of the Portugueses, how Alexander Castracan was disgraced and expelled out of Spain for publishing the Pope's Bulls, and that the Papal censures were declared void [k]; and how the Pope's delegates or Apostolical judges have been banished out of that kingdom for maintaining the privileges of the Roman Court [l].

And when the king of Spain objected to the Pope the pensions, which he and his Court received yearly out of Spain from ecclesiastical benefices and dignities, the Pope's

[i] [De Schism., lib. i. p. 74, ed. 1610.]

[j] An. 1543.—Pad. Paolo, Apologia [per Gerson, in the Raccolta degli Scritti, &c. nella causa di P. Paolo V. co. Sign. Venet.], p. 405. [ed. 1607, quoting from the Traictéz &c., tom. i. p. 20. ed. 1639.]

[k] Lusitaniæ Gemitus, p. 39. [see p. 224, notes g, h.]

[l] [Ibid.,] p. 41.

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secretary replied, that all the Papal pensions put together did scarcely amount to so much as only one pension imposed by the king upon the Archbishopric of Seville. Neither did the king deny the thing, but justify it, as done in favour of an Infante of Castile; and did further acknowledge, that it was not unusual for the kings of Spain to impose pensions upon ecclesiastical preferments, to the fourth part of the value, except in the kingdom of Gallicia[m]. This was more than ever any king of England attempted, either before, or after, the Reformation.

[Reception in Brabant and Flanders of Urban VIIIth's Bull against Jansenius.]

Before we leave the dominions of this great prince, let us cast our eyes a little upon Brabant and Flanders. Who hath not heard of a book composed by Jansenius Bishop of Ypres, called "Augustinus;" and of those great animosities and contentions that have risen about it in most Roman Catholic countries? I meddle not with the merit of the cause,—whether Jansenius followed St. Austin, or St. Austin his ancients, or whether he be reconcileable to himself in this question. I do willingly omit all circumstances, but only those which conduce to my present purpose. So it was, that Urban the Eighth by his Bull censured the said book, as maintaining divers temerarious and dangerous positions under the name of St. Austin, forbidding all Catholics to print it, sell it, or keep it, for the future. This Bull was sent to the Archbishop of Mechlin and the Bishop of Gant, to see it published and obeyed in their provinces. But they both refused, and, for refusing, were cited to appear at Rome; and not appearing by themselves, or their proctors, were suspended and interdicted by the Pope, and the copy of the sentence affixed to the door of the great church in Brussels: although in truth they durst not publish the sentence of condemnation without the king's license; and were expressly forbidden by the Council of Brabant to appear at Rome, under great penalties, as appeareth manifestly by the proclamation or *Placaert* of the Council themselves dated at Brussels, May 12, 1653:—wherein they do further declare, that it was "Kennelick ende notoir," &c. "well known and notoriously true, that the subjects of those provinces, of what state or condition soever, could not be cited nor convented

[m] Memorial de Sa Magestad Catolica.

out of the land, neither in person, nor by their proctor"— "selber oock niet voor het hoff van Roomen"—"no, not by the Court of Rome itself:"—and further, that "the provisions, spiritual censures, excommunications, suspensions, and interdictions, of that Court, might not be published or put in execution," without 'the king's approbation after the Council's deliberation:'—and yet further, they do ordain, that "the said defamatory writing" (so they call the copy of the Pope's sentence) "should be torn in pieces in the great hall of the Court at Brussels by the door-keeper, condemning and abolishing the memory thereof for ever [n]." Thus all Christendom do join unanimously in this truth, that not the Court of Rome, but their own sovereigns in their Councils, are the last judges of their national liberties and privileges. Discourse II.

IV. The king of Portugal doth the same [as the king of Spain].

IV. I pass from Spain to Portugal, where the king and kingdom either are at this present time, or very lately were, very much unsatisfied with the Pope, and all about their ancient customs and essential rights of the crown: as the nomination of their own Bishops, without which condition they tell the Pope plainly, that "they neither can nor ought to receive them [o];" that if others than the sovereign prince have the naming of them, then "suspected persons may be 18 intruded [p]," and the realm can have no security: that it is the opinion of all good men, and the judgment of most learned men, that herein "the Pope doth most grievously derogate from the right of the crown [q];" that it is done in favour of the king of Castile, lest he should either revolt from his obedience to the Pope, or make war against him; and that, if provision be made contrary to justice "for the private interests of the Roman Court, Christ's right is betrayed [r]." They advise the Pope to let the world know that "he hath care of souls, and leaves temporal things to princes [s];" that, if he persist to change the custom of the Church to the prejudice of Portugal, Portugal may and ought to preserve its

[n] Impress. Bruxellis per Anth. Velpium Typograph. Regium, 1653. [See a translation of this decree (with the Bulls and other documents relating to the whole transaction) in Argentre, Collect. Judicior. de Nov. Error., tom. iii. pp. 244, 251, 256, &c.]

[o] Lusitaniæ Gemitus, p. 30. [see p. 224, notes g, h.]

[p] [Ibid.,] p. 31.

[q] [Ibid.,] p. 32.

[r] [Ibid.,] p. 34.

[s] [Ibid.,] p. 37.

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right; and that, "if he love Castile more than Portugal, Portugal is not obliged to obey him more than Castile [t]."

There are other differences likewise, as namely about the imprisoning of some Prelates for treason; to which they make this plea, that 'the law doth warrant it; that ecclesiastical immunities are not opposite to natural defence; that it is he that hurts his country, who hurts his own immunity [u].'

A third difference was about the king's intermeddling in the controversies of religious persons; to which they answer, that "the protection of the prince is not a violation, but a defence, of the rights of the Church;" that "it is the duty of Catholic princes to see regular discipline be observed [v]."

The fourth difference is about taxes imposed upon ecclesiastical persons, and the taking up the revenues of Bishoprics in the vacancy; to which they give this satisfaction, that "all orders of men are obliged in justice to contribute to the common defence of the kingdom, and their own necessary protection;" and that the revenues of the vacant Bishoprics could not be "better deposited and conserved, than when they are employed by the prince for the public benefit, *cum onere restituendi.*"

In sum, they wish the Pope over and over again to consider seriously the danger of these courses, now when heresy shews itself with such confidence throughout Europe [x]; that the minds of men are inclined to suspected opinions; that "St. Peter's ship, which hath often been in danger in a calm sea, ought not to be opposed to the violent course of just complainers [y]," who think themselves forsaken; that "the Church of Rome hath lost many kingdoms, which have withdrawn their obedience and reverential respect from it, for much lesser reasons [z];" that they had learned with grief, by their last repulse, that their submissions and iterated supplications had prejudiced their right; that "the king's ambassador, the clergy's messenger, the agent from the three Orders of the kingdom, had found nothing at Rome from two Popes but neglects, affronts, and repulses [a];" and, lastly, for a fare-

[t] [Ibid.,] p. 38.
[u] [Ibid.,] p. 40.
[v] [Ibid.,] p. 42.
[x] [Ibid.,] p. 23.
[y] [Ibid.,] p. 27.
[z] [Ibid.,] p. 43.
[a] [Ibid.,] p. 44.

well, that Portugal, and all the provinces that belong unto it in Europe, Asia, Africa, and America, "is more than one single sheep [b];"—which is as much as if they should tell him in plain downright terms, that, if he lose it by his own fault, he loseth one of the fairest flowers in his garland. What the issue of this will be, God only knows, and time must discover.

[Answers of the University of Lisbon to the States of Portugal.]

I will conclude this point with the answer of the University of Lisbon to certain questions or demands, moved unto them by the States or Orders of Portugal [c].

The first question was, whether, in case there were no recourse to the Pope, the king of Portugal might permit the consecration of Bishops without the Pope in his kingdom? To which their answer was affirmative, that he might do it, because "Episcopacy was of Divine right, but the reservation of the Pope's approbation was of human right, which doth not bind in extreme, nor in very great, necessity."

The second question, whether there was extreme necessity of consecrating new Bishops in Portugal? Their answer was affirmative, that there was, because there was but one Bishop left in Portugal, and six-and-twenty wanting in the rest of the king's dominions.

The third question was, whether Portugal had then [been obliged to have[d]] recourse to the Pope for his approbation? The answer was negative, that they had not: first, because the Castilians had attempted to slay their ambassadors before the eyes of Urban the Eighth, and Innocent the Tenth, so there was no safe recourse; and, secondly, because their ambassadors could not prevail with the Pope in nine years by all their solicitations; so there was no hope to obtain.

The fourth question was, whether the permission of this were scandalous? The answer was negative, that it was not: first, because it was a greater scandal to want Bishops; secondly, because the king had used all due means to obtain the Pope's approbation; thirdly, because it was done out of extreme necessity.

The fifth and last question was, how Bishops were to be provided? They answered, that it was to be done according to law, by the election of the respective Chapters and by the

[b] [Ibid.,] p. 45.
[c] Impress. Olyssiponæ, an. 1649. [not to be met with.]
[d] [Supplied in the folio edition.]

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presentation of the king, as it was of old in Spain and Portugal, and was still observed in Germany and elsewhere.

[V. The Republic of Venice.]

V. From Spain and Portugal it is now high time to pass over into Italy: where we meet with the republic of Venice, obliged in some sort to the Papacy for that honour, and grandeur, and profit, and advantage, which the Italian nation doth reap from it. Yet have not they wanted their discontents, and differences, and disputes, with the Court of Rome.

Venetian laws.

The Republic of Venice had made several laws: as, first, that no ecclesiastical person should make any claim or pretence to any "*bona emphyteutica*" (as the lawyers call them,—that is, waste lands, that had been planted and improved by the great charge, and industry, and good culture, of the fee-farmers), "which were possessed by the laity[e];" secondly, that "no person whatsoever, within their dominions, should found any church, monastery, hospital, or other religious house, without the special license of the state," upon pain of "imprisonment, and banishment, and confiscation of the soil and buildings[f];" thirdly, that none of their subjects should 'alienate any lands to the Church, or in favour of any ecclesiastical persons, secular or regular, without the special license of the Senate,' upon pain that the lands so alienated should be "sold, and the money divided between the commonwealth, the magistrate executing the law, and the party prosecuting the process[g];" fourthly, the Duke and the Senate had imprisoned an Abbot and a Canon, for certain crimes whereof they stood convicted[h].

The Bull of Pope [Paul V].

Paul the Fifth resented these things very highly, and commanded the Duke and Senate of Venice to abrogate these laws, so prejudicial to the authority of the Pope, to the rights of holy Church, and to the privileges of ecclesiastical persons; and to set their prisoners forthwith at liberty: or, otherwise, in case of disobedience, he excommunicated the Duke and Senate and all their partakers; and subjected the city of Venice and all the dominions thereunto belonging to an interdict; and, moreover, declared all the lands and goods,

[e] Maii 23, An. 1602.[, ap. Bull. Paul. V., in the Raccolta degli Scritti, &c., p. 3.]

[f] Jan. 10, An. 1603. [ibid.]

[g] Martii 26, An. 1605. [ibid.]

[h] Bulla Pauli V., dat. Rom. Apr. 17, 1606. [in the Raccolta degli Scritti &c., p. 4.]

which either the city of Venice or any of the persons excommunicated did hold of the Church, to be forfeited; and, lastly, commanded all ecclesiastical persons, high and low, upon their obedience, to publish that Bull, and to forbear to celebrate all Divine offices, according to the interdict, upon pains contained therein, as also of suspension, sequestration, deprivation, and incapacity to hold any ecclesiastical preferments for the future[i].

Slighted by the Venetians.

But what did the Venetians, whilst Paul the Fifth thundered against them in this manner? They maintained their laws; they detained their prisoners; they protested publicly, before God and the world, against the Pope's Bull, as 'unjust and void, made without reason, against the Scriptures, and the doctrine of the Holy Fathers, and the canons of the Church, to the high prejudice of the secular power, with grievous and universal scandal'; they commanded all the clergy within their dominions to celebrate Divine offices duly, notwithstanding the Pope's interdict[k]: and, at the same time, they published and licensed sundry other writings, tending to the lessening of the Papal greatness and jurisdiction of the Roman Court;—sundry of which books were condemned by the Inquisition, as "containing in them many things temerarious, calumnious, scandalous, seditious, schismatical, heretical;" and the reading and keeping of them was prohibited, under pain of excommunication[l].

During this contestation, the Duke of Venice died; and the Pope prohibited the Venetians to proceed to the election of a new Duke. The Senate, notwithstanding the Pope's injunction or inhibition, proceed to the election. The people are unanimous, and resolute to defend their just liberties. The clergy celebrate Divine offices duly, notwithstanding the Pope's interdict. Only one Order, with some few others, adhered to the Pope; and, for their labour, were banished out of the Venetian city and territories. The Pope called home his legate from Venice. The Venetians revoked their ambassadors, ordinary and extraordinary, from Rome. The

[i] Bulla eadem, [ibid., pp. 5, 6.]

[k] Litteræ Leonardi Don., Ducis Venet., [addressed to the clergy of the Venet. empire,] datæ Maii 6, 1606. [ap. Goldast., S. Rom. Imp., tom. iii. p. 285.]

[l] Pad. Paolo, Historia Particolare, lib. iv. pp. 141, [142. ed. Genev. 1624. See also lib. i. p. 50.]

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Pope incited the king of Spain to make war against the Republic, to reduce them to the obedience of the Church. And the Venetians, being aided by their Roman Catholic allies, armed themselves for their own defence [m].

Venetian doctrines.

It is not unworthy of our observation, what was the doctrine of the Venetian preachers and writers in those days, as it is summed up by an eye-witness and a great actor in those affairs:—that "God had constituted two governments in the world, the one spiritual, the other temporal; either of them sovereign in their kind, and independent the one upon the other:" that "the care of the spiritual was committed to the Apostles and their successors" (not to St. Peter as a single Apostle, and *his* successors alone, either at Antioch, or at Rome, as if all the rest were but delegates for term of life; wherein they agreed justly with us): that 'as each particular Bishop is the respective Head of his proper Church, so Episcopacy,' or St. Cyprian's "*unus Episcopatus* [n]"—the conjoint body of Bishops, 'is the ecclesiastical Head of the militant Church:' that the care "of the temporal government is committed to sovereign princes:" that "these two cannot intrude the one into the office of the other: that the Pope hath no power to annul the laws of princes in temporal things, nor to deprive them of their estates, nor to free their subjects from their allegiance;" that the attempt "to depose kings was but five hundred years old, contrary to Scriptures, contrary to the examples of Christ and of the Saints: that to teach, that, in case of controversy between the Pope and a prince, it is lawful to persecute him by treachery or force, or, that his rebellious subjects may purchase by it remission of sins,—is a seditious and sacrilegious doctrine: that the exemption of ecclesiastical persons and their goods from the secular power, is not from the law of God but from the piety of princes," "sometimes more, sometimes less, according to the exigence of affairs:" that "Papal exemptions of the clergy are in some places not received at all, in other places but received in part;" "and that they have no efficacy or validity farther than they are received: that notwithstanding any exemption, sovereigns have power over

[m] Idem, [ibid.,] lib. i, [ii, et iii.] pp. 24[-115.]

[n] [De Unitat., Op., p. 108.]

their persons and goods, whensoever the necessity of the commonwealth requires it: that if any exemption whatsoever be abused to the disturbance of the public tranquillity, the prince is obliged to provide remedy for it:" that "the Pope ought not to hold himself infallible, nor promise himself such Divine assistance:" that "the authority to bind and loose is to be understood, *clave non errante*:" that "when the Pope hath censured or excommunicated a prince, the doctors may lawfully examine whether his key have erred or not; and when the prince is certified that the censure against him or his subjects is invalid, he may and ought, for the preservation of public peace, to hinder the execution thereof, preserving his religion and convenient reverence to the Church:" that "the excommunication of a multitude, or a prince that commands much people, is pernicious and sacrilegious: that the new name of blind obedience," lately "invented, was unknown to the" ancient "Church, and to all good theologians; destroys the essence of virtue, which is to work by certain knowledge and election; exposeth to danger of offending God; excuseth not the errors of a spiritual prince; and was apt to raise sedition, as the experience of the last forty years had manifested [o]." What conclusion would have followed from these premisses, if they had been thoroughly pursued, it were no difficult matter to determine. Discourse II.

1. It may perhaps be objected, that the Venetian state had these privileges granted to them by the Popes and Court of Rome. And it is thus far true, that they had five Bulls, two of Sixtus the Fourth, one of Innocent the Eighth, one of Alexander the Sixth, and the last of Paul the Third [p]. But it is as true, that none of these Bulls concerned any of the matters in debate, but only the punishment of delinquent clergymen. It hath been an old subtilty of the Popes, that when the emperors or Councils had granted any ecclesiastical privilege or honour to any person or society which it was not in their power to cross, yet straightway their Bulls did fly abroad, either of concession, or confirmation, or delegation, to make the world believe that nothing could be done without them. [These privileges not possessed by the Venetians by grant of the Popes.]

But how or by what right did the Venetians claim these

[o] Pad. Paolo, Hist. Part., lib. iv. pp. 145-147.

[p] Nicomaco Filal. [scil. Cardin. Gaetano], Avertimenti Veri, p. 24. [Bologn. 1606.—not to be met with.]

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privileges? By virtue of any Papal Bulls? No such thing. But by the law of nature, as an essential right of sovereignty, and by a most ancient custom of one thousand two hundred years, that is, a thousand years before the first Bull was dated, as appeareth by a letter of the Senate of Venice to the Venetian commons their subjects [q].

[Difference between Venice and England in their several departures from Roman obedience.]

2. Secondly, it may be urged further, that the Venetians 121 did not make a total and perpetual separation from Rome.

No more did England, if by Rome we understand the *Church* of Rome. First, not total, but only "in particular points wherein they were fallen, both from themselves in their ancient integrity, and from the Apostolical Churches which were their first founders,"—which are the very words of our canon [r]; secondly, not perpetual, but only temporary, —until their errors be amended and abuses reformed.

But if by Rome be understood the Roman *Court*, the case of Venice and England is much different. They acknowledge themselves to be justly subject to the Roman Patriarch; we do altogether deny his jurisdiction over us: the vicinity of Venice renders them capable of receiving justice from Rome; which the distance of England, being so far divided by seas and mountains, doth hinder us of: their interest invited them to a conjunction with Rome; ours is against it. But yet they take care for their own security and indemnity, that the Papacy which they submitted unto, should be toothless, not able to bite them or injure them. If that Papacy which they sought to have obtruded upon us, had been such an one, in probability they had not so quickly been turned out of doors.

[Difference between Venice and England in their several departures from Roman doctrine.]

3. Lastly, it may be objected, that the points in difference between Rome and us be many more, than those which were in difference between Rome and Venice. This indeed is most true, but not much material. More or less do not vary the kind or nature of any thing. Whether their liberties or ours be of greater or lesser extent, is impertinent to our question. If Venice ought to enjoy their ancient liberties and customs, then so ought England also. If the Venetians

[q] [Lettera della Republ. e Senat. di Venetia alle loro Communità, &c., May 6, 1606; in the] Raccolta degli Scritti, &c. pp. 9, 10.

[r] [Can. 1603,] can. 30.

ought to be the last judges of their own pretensions, what their ancient customs and liberties were, then so ought we to be likewise: not the Pope and his Conclave of Cardinals, which, if Venice would not endure, we have much less reason to endure it. What canons have been received with us, and how far, and where our shoe did wring us, none knew so well as ourselves.

[The chiefest difference between our case and that of Venice.]

The chiefest difference between our case and that of Venice, seems to me to be this; that we were put to an after-game, so were not they: they preserved their rights and privileges, then in question, entire from the usurpations of the Roman Court; we were necessitated in part to retrieve and vindicate ours: theirs was properly a conservation; ours a reformation: they might thank the unanimity of their subjects, the loyalty of their clergy, and their nearer acquaintance with Rome, for their advantage; we might blame the barons' wars, and the contentions between the houses of York and Lancaster, and a kind of superstitious veneration of that See, occasioned by our distance and want of experimental knowledge, for our disadvantage.

The conclusion of the Venetian troubles.

But to come to the catastrophe of this business. Both sides grew weary of the difference. Christian princes mediated a peace, especially the most Christian King. The Venetians were contented to shake hands and be friends with the Court of Rome; but without any reparation, or submission, or confession, or so much as a request, to be made on their parts. They refused to abrogate any one of the laws complained of. They refused (though the Pope did press it most instantly, and the Cardinal Joyeuse did assure them that it would be more acceptable to his Holiness than the conquest of a kingdom) to readmit the banished persons into their city. They refused to take an absolution from Rome; yea, they were so far from it, that, when the ambassador intreated that the Duke might receive a benediction from him publicly in the Church, both the Duke and the Senate did resolutely oppose it, because it had some appearance of an absolution.

A man would have thought that this might have sufficed to have taught the Popes more wit, than to have hazarded their reputation again, so near home, where they are so well

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known. But it did not. They adventured after this to make their spiritual weapons subservient to their temporal ends, by excommunicating and interdicting the Duke of Parma and his subjects, with little better success [s].

I expect that it should be alleged, that all the projects of France for a new Patriarchate, and the Memorials of Castile, and the Bleatings of Portugal, &c. were but personated shows, to terrify Popes into their duties. And in part I do believe 122
it to be true. But withal they must yield thus much unto me, that it is for children to be terrified with grimaces, or painted vizards, which signify nothing. To work upon wise men, there must be probable and just grounds, that such things as are pretended may be, and will be, effected.

We have said enough to shew, that all Christian nations do challenge this right to themselves, to be the last judges of their own liberties and privileges.

CHAP. VIII.

THAT THE POPE AND THE COURT OF ROME ARE MOST GUILTY OF THE SCHISM.

The Church, but principally the Court, of Rome is four ways guilty of schism.

I AM come now to my sixth and last proposition, which brings the schism home to their own doors. Wherein I endeavour to demonstrate, that the Church of Rome, or rather the Pope and the Court of Rome, are causally guilty both of this schism, and almost all other schisms in the Church. First, by seeking to usurp a higher place and power in the body ecclesiastical, than of right is due unto them. Secondly, by separating, both by their doctrines and censures, three parts of the Christian world from their communion, and, as much as in them lies, from the communion of Christ. Thirdly, by rebelling against general Councils. Lastly, by breaking or taking away all the lines of Apostolical succession except their own.

[s] [For the quarrel of Urban VIII. with the Duke of Parma in 1640-1644, see Rycaut's Lives of the Popes, in Urban VIII., and Nani, Hist. Venet., lib. xii.]

1. First, they make the Church of Rome to be not only the sister of all other Patriarchal Churches, and the 'Mother of many Churches,' but to be 'the Lady and Mistress of all Churches[t];' to be not only a prime stone in the building, but the very foundation; to be not only a respective foundation, in relation to this or that time and place (as all the Apostles and all Apostolical Churches were, and all good pastors and all orthodox Churches are), but to be an absolute foundation, for all persons, in all places, at all times,—which is proper to Christ alone: "Other foundation can no man lay than that which is laid, even Jesus Christ." They hold it not enough for the Roman Church to be a top branch, unless it may be the root, of Christian religion, or at least of all that jurisdiction which Christ left as a legacy to His Church. In all which claim, by the Church of Rome they understand not the 'essential' Church, nor yet the 'representative' Church—a Roman Synod, but the 'virtual' Church which is invested with ecclesiastical power, that is, the Pope with his Cardinals and ministers. When any member how eminent soever scorns its proper place in the body, whether natural, or political, or ecclesiastical, and seeks to usurp the office of the Head, it must of necessity produce a disorder and disturbance and confusion and schism of the respective members. This is one degree of schismatical pravity.

[I. The Church of Rome usurps a higher place in the body ecclesiastical, than is due unto her.]

1 Cor. iii. 11.

II. But, in the second place, we press the crime of schism more home against the *Court* of Rome, than against the *Church* of Rome. It is the Court of Rome, which,—partly by obtruding new creeds and new articles of faith, and especially this doctrine, that it is necessary for every Christian under pain of damnation to be subject to the Bishop of Rome, as the vicar of Christ by Divine ordination upon earth (that is, in effect, to be subject to themselves who are his council and officers), yea, even those who by reason of their remoteness never heard of the name of Rome, without which it will profit them nothing to have holden the Catholic Faith entirely, and partly by their tyrannical and uncharitable censures,—have separated all the Asiatic, African, Grecian,

[II. The *Court* of Rome hath separated three parts of the Christian world from its communion;] [by its doctrines;] [and by its censures.]

[t] [S. Bernard., De Consider. adv. Eugen. Pap., lib. iv. c. 7, ap. Goldast., S. Rom. Imp., tom. ii. p. 88.]

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Russian, and Protestant, Churches from their communion; not only negatively, in the way of Christian discretion, by withdrawing of themselves for fear of infection, but privatively and authoritatively, by way of jurisdiction, excluding them (so much as in them lieth) from the communion of Christ; though those Churches so chased away by them contain three times more Christian souls than the Church of Rome itself with all its dependents and adherents; many of which do suffer more pressures for the testimony of Christ, than the Romanists do gain advantages, and are ready to shed the last drop of their blood for the least known particle of saving truth; only because they will not strike topsail to the Pope's 123
cross-keys, nor buy indulgences and such like trinkets at Rome. It is not passion, but action, that makes a schismatic; to desert the communion of Christians voluntarily, not to be thrust away from it unwillingly. For divers years in the beginning of Queen Elizabeth's reign, there was no recusant known in England; but even they who were most addicted to Roman opinions, yet frequented our churches and public assemblies, and did join with us in the use of the same prayers and Divine offices, without any scruple; until they were prohibited by a Papal Bull, merely for the interest of the Roman Court[u]. This was the true beginning of the schism between us and them. I never yet heard any of that party charge our Liturgy with any error, except of omission;—that it wanted something which they would have inserted. I wish theirs as free from exception, to try whether *we* would shun *their* communion in the public service of God: charity would rather choose to want something that was lawful, than willingly to give occasion of offence.

[III. The Bishops of Rome have rebelled against general Councils.]

III. But, to lay the axe to the root of schism, in the third place;—the Papacy itself (*quà talis*), as it is now maintained by many, with superiority above general Councils and a sovereign power paramount to confirm or reject their sanctions, is the cause, either procreant, or conservant, or both, of all or the most part of the schisms in Christendom[x]. To rebel against the Catholic Church, and its representative, a

[u] [See the Replicat. to the Bp. of Chalced., c. vii. (pp. 241, 242. fol. edit.), Discourse iii. Part i.]

[x] [See note E in Append. to Abp. Bramhall's Life, p. xvii.]

general Council, which is the last visible judge of controversies and the supreme ecclesiastical court, either is gross schism, or there is no such thing as schismatical pravity in the world.

I say, the Bishops of Rome have exempted themselves and their Court from the jurisdiction of an Œcumenical Council, and made themselves sovereign monarchs and Universal Bishops, "*in totius Ecclesiæ injuriam et discissionem*"—"to the wrong of the Church, and renting it in pieces[y]," making themselves to be not only "fathers," but "masters of all Christians"—it is the Pope's own expression in his letter to his legate[z];—contrary to their former professions of obedience to the ecclesiastical constitutions of sovereign princes and Synods[a]; contrary to their own laws, which allow appeals from them so often as they transgress the canons, and subject them to the judgment of the Church, not only in case of heresy, which the most of themselves do acknowledge, and schism and simony, which many of them do not deny, but also of scandal[b]; contrary to so many appellations from them by Christian princes, prelates, and universities[c]; contrary to the judgment of almost all the Cisalpine prelates, Spanish, French, Dutch, assembled at Trent[d]; contrary to the decrees of so many Councils both general and provincial, which have limited their jurisdiction, set down the true reason of their greatness, rescinded their sentences, forbidden appeals to them, condemned their pragmatical intrusion of themselves into the affairs of other Churches as being contrary to the decrees of the Fathers; which have judged them, and condemned them of heresy, schism, simony, and other misdemeanors; which have deposed them by two or three at a time, whereof one was undoubtedly the true Pope;—these things are so obvious in the history of the Church, that it were vanity and lost labour to prove them;—but especially contrary to the Councils of Constance and Basle, which have

[y] Greg. [M. Epist., lib. ix. Ep. 68, Op. tom. ii. p. 984. D.]

[z] Hist. Concil. Trident., in an. 1563, lib. vii. [p. 529. ed. Lond. 1620. "Omnium Christianorum Patrem ac *Doctorem*."]

[a] [Gratian., Decret., P. i.] Distinct. 10. c. [9.] "De Capitulis."

[b] [Id., ibid., P. ii. Causa] 2. Qu. 7. c. [41.] "Nos si incompetenter."—Gloss. [in eund., P. i.] Distinct. 40. c. [6.] "Si Papa;" [et in P. ii. Causa] 9. Qu. 3. c. [13.] "Nemo."

[c] [See c. vii. pp. 217, 220, &c.]

[d] Hist. Concil. Trident., lib. vii. et x. [see p. 190, note r.]

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[Decrees of the Councils of Constance and Basle.]

decreed expressly, that 'the Pope is subject to a general Council, as well in matter of Faith, as of manners; so as he may not only be corrected, but, if he be incorrigible, be deposed [e].' This is determined in the Council of Constance; and confirmed in the Council of Basle, with this addition, that "whosoever opposeth this truth pertinaciously, is to be reputed a heretic [f]."

[Objected to as unconfirmed by the Pope because not conciliarly made.]

This decree of the Council wounds deep, because it is so evident and clear in the point, and because the decrees thereof were confirmed by Martin the Fifth; but the Romanists have found out a salve for it,—that Pope Martin "confirmed only those decrees which were conciliarly made," that is, with the influence and concurrence of the Pope, as the condemnation of Wickliff and Huss; but "not those decrees which were not conciliarly made," that is, which wanted the influence of the Pope, as the decree of the superiority of the Council above the Pope, which ought to be understood (say they) only of dubious Popes [g].

For clearing of which doubt, I propose several considerations.

The Pope's confirmation of Councils of no value.

1. First, that it is not material, whether the decree were confirmed by the Pope, or not. There are two sorts of confirmation, approbative, and authoritative. Approbative confirmation is by way of testimony, or suffrage, or reception; and so an inferior may confirm the acts of his superior; as it is said, that "the Saints shall judge the world," that is, by their doctrine, by their example, and by their approbative suffrage;—"Just art Thou, O Lord, and right are Thy judgments." Authoritative confirmation implies either a sole legislative power, or at least a negative voice: whereas it is as clear as the light, that the Popes anciently never had either the one or the other in the Catholic Church; we meet with no confirmations of general Councils of old, but only by the emperors, whereby ecclesiastical sanctions became civil laws, and obliged all the subjects of the empire under a civil pain. Wherefore it is no matter, whether the Pope confirmed the

[1 Cor. vi. 2.]

[Ps. cxix. 137.]

[e] Concil. Constant. [A. D. 1415], Sess. iv. [et v., ap. Labb., Concil., tom. xii. pp. 19. 23.]

[f] Concil. Basil. [A. D. 1431]. Sess. ii. [Decret. 3 et 4, et Sess. xxxiii. ibid., pp. 477, 478, et 619, B.]

[g] [Bellarm., De Eccles. Milit., lib. ii. De Concil. Auctoritat., c. 19. Op. tom. i. pp. 1222, 1223.]

decree or not, whether it was confirmed or unconfirmed: it lets us see what was the Catholic tradition, and the sense of the Christian world in those days; and we abide in it.

The decree of the Council's superiority above the Pope most conciliarly made.

2. Secondly, I reply, that this decree was most conciliarly made, and consequently confirmed; made after due examination and discussion, without any underhand packing or labouring for voices; made in the public session, not privately before the deputies of the nations. For clearing whereof take this dilemma. Either this decree and the subsequent acts done by virtue and in execution thereof were conciliarly made and confirmed, and consequently valid in the judgment of the Romanists themselves, or unconciliarly made, and consequently, according to their rules, not confirmed but invalid. If they grant, that this decree was conciliarly made and confirmed, then they grant the question. If they say it was not conciliarly made nor confirmed, then Martin the Fifth was no true Pope, but an intruder and an usurper, and consequently his confirmation was of no value; for in pursuance of this very decree, and by virtue of that doctrine therein delivered, the other Popes were deposed, and he was created Pope[h].

But to clear that passage from all ambiguity:—there were in the Council of Constance the deputies of the nations, as a selected committee to examine matters, and prosecute them, and prepare them for the Council[i]. What was done apart by these deputies, by this committee, was not conciliarly done. But what was done in the public session of the Council, upon their report, that was conciliarly done. Now so it was, that one Falkenberch had published a dangerous and seditious book, which had been complained of to the deputies of the nations, and condemned by them; but the conjoint body of the Council, in their public session, had not condemned it conciliarly. Yet, after the Council was ended, and after the Cardinal had given the Fathers their *congé*, or leave to depart, and dismissed them with "*Domini, ite in pace*"—"Fathers, depart in peace," and the Fathers had answered "Amen;" when there was nothing left to do, but to hear a sermon and begone; the ambassadors of Polonia

[h] [This is Gerson's argument. See Bellarm., De Concil. Auctor., as before quoted, p. 1222, B.C.]

[i] [Concil. Constant., Sess. iv., as before quoted, p. 20.]

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and Lithuania very unseasonably pressed the Pope to condemn that book, alleging, that it had been condemned by the deputies of the nations: to which the Pope answered, that "he confirmed only those acts of the Council which were conciliarly made[k];" that is to say, not the acts of the deputies of the nations apart, but the public acts of the whole session. This is the genuine sense of that passage, which bears its own evidence along with it to every one that doth not wilfully shut his eyes. This was an accidental emergent, after the Synod was ended, and not the solemn purposed confirmation.

[The decree not to be understood only of dubious Popes.]

And concerning that gloss,—that the decree is to be understood only of dubious Popes, or Popes whose title is litigious,—as it contradicts the text itself, which includes all dignitaries whosoever, of whatsoever title, peaceable or litigious, Popes or others, so it is sufficiently confuted by the very execution of the decree. An inferior may declare the lawful right of his superior, and, where there are divers pretenders, establish the possession in him that hath the best title; but to make right to be no right, to turn all pretenders right or wrong out of possession, only by the last law of '*salus populi*,' &c.—'for the tranquillity of the people,' this is a prerogative of sovereign princes and a badge of legislative authority. This was the very case of the Council of Constance; they turned out all pretenders to the Papacy, the right Pope and the antipopes all together; some of them indeed by persuasion, but such persuasion as might not be resisted; and one whose title seemed clearest, which rendered their persuasions as unto him ineffectual, by plain power: for so the Council, with the consent and concurrence of Christian princes, did find it expedient for Christendom.

12

[viz. Benedict XIII.]

[IV. The Popes have broken or taken away all the lines of Apostolical succession except their own.]

IV. Lastly, though the Popes do not abolish the order of Bishops, or Episcopacy in the abstract, yet they limit the power of Bishops in the concrete at their pleasure, by exemptions and reservations; holding themselves to be the Bishops of every particular See in the world during the vacancy of it, and making all Episcopal jurisdiction to flow from them, and to be founded in the Pope's laws;—because

[k] [Ejusd. Sess. xlv. et ultima, ibid. p. 253.]

it was but delegated to the rest of the Apostles for term of life, but resided solely in St. Peter as an ordinary, to descend from him to his successors Bishops of Rome, and to be imparted by them to other Bishops as their vicars or coadjutors, assumed by them into some part of their charge [1]. By this account the Pope must be the universal or only Bishop of the world; the keys must be his gift, not Christ's; and all the Apostles except St. Peter must want their successors in Episcopal jurisdiction. What is this but to trample upon Episcopacy, and to make them equivocal Bishops; to dissolve the primitive bonds of brotherly unity, to overthrow the discipline instituted by Christ, and to take away the line of Apostolical succession?

[The name of Universal Bishop taken in three senses.]

The name of Œcumenical or Universal Bishop is taken in three senses, one without controversy lawful, one controverted whether lawful or unlawful, and one undoubtedly unlawful and schismatical.

[1. As implying universality of care.]

1. In the first sense an Universal Bishop signifies no more than an eminent Bishop of the Universal Church, implying an universality of care and vigilance, but not of jurisdiction. And in this sense all the five Proto-Patriarchs used more emphatically to be called Universal Bishops; either by reason of their reputation and influence upon the universal Church, or their presidence in general Councils [m].

[2. As implying universality not only of care but of jurisdiction.]

2. In another sense, an Universal Bishop signifies such a Bishop who, besides an universal care, doth also challenge an universal jurisdiction. This was that title which John Bishop of Constantinople affected;—"*omnibus præesse, nulli subesse*;" and again, "*cuncta Christi membra sibimet supponere Universalitatis appellatione.*" This was that title which Gregory the Great and his predecessors refused (if they did refuse any such title); for it were evident madness to fancy, that ever any general Council did offer any particular Bishop the title of the only Bishop of the world. This title in this sense was that which Gregory himself did condemn, as a "vain," "profane," "wicked," "blasphemous," "Antichristian" name [n].

[1] [Bellarm., De Roman. Pontif., lib. i. c. 11. lib. iv. cc. 22, 24, 25.]

[m] [See Bellarm., ibid. lib. ii. c. 31, Op. tom. i. pp. 831—833.——Cave, Governm. of Anc. Ch., c. vi. § 8—15.]

[n] Greg. M. Epist. lib. iv. Ep. 34 et 38. [Editt. before Bened.—lib. v. Ep. 21 et 18, Op. tom. ii. pp. 750, 751. 742. E. 743—746. ed. Bened.]

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[3. Exclusively, for the only Bishop of the world.]

3. Lastly, the name of Universal Bishop may be taken exclusively, for the only Bishop of the world. Which sense was far enough from the intention either of Gregory the Great, or John of Constantinople, who had both of them so many true Archbishops and Bishops under them. But this sense agrees well enough with the extravagant ambition of the later Popes, and of the Roman Court, who do appropriate all original jurisdiction to themselves.

So many ways is the Court of Rome guilty of schismatical pravity.

[V. Two other novelties challenged by the Popes.]

V. Besides these branches of schism, there are yet two other novelties challenged by the Popes and their parasitical courtiers (but neither these nor the other yet defined by their Church), both destructive to Christian unity, both apt to breed and nourish, to procreate and conserve, schism; an infallibility of judgment, and a temporal power over princes either directly or indirectly.

[1. Infallibility of judgment.]

1. General and provincial Councils are the proper remedies of schism. But this challenge of infallibility diminisheth their authority, discrediteth their definitions, and maketh them to be superfluous things. What needs so much expense? so many consultations? so much travel of so many poor old fallible Bishops from all the quarters of the world? when there is an infallible judge at Rome, that can determine all questions in his own conclave, without danger of error. Was Marcellinus such an infallible judge when he burned incense to idols[o]? or Liberius when he consented to the Arians, and gave his suffrage to the condemnation of Blessed Athanasius[p]? or Honorius when he was condemned and accursed in the sixth general Council for a Monothelite[q]? or John the Twenty-Second when he was condemned by the theologues of Paris, before the king, with sound of trumpets, for teaching that the souls of the just shall not see God until the general Resurrection[r]? Were those succeeding Popes, 12

[o] Concil. Sinuess. [(A.D. 303), ap. Labb., Concil., tom. i. pp 938, &c.]; et Platin., in Vitâ Marcellini. [p. 36, 1.]

[p] Athanas., in Epist. ad Solitar. Vitam Agentes, [seu Hist. Arianor. ad Monachos, § 42, Op. tom. i. p. 368. D. E.]—Hieron., in Chron. [ad ann. 351], et Catal. Eccles. Scriptor., [in Fortunatiano, c. 97, ap. Fabric., Bibl. Eccles., p. 185.]

[q] Concil. General. VI. [Constantinop., A.D. 680.] Act. xiii, [ap. Labb., Concil., tom. vi. pp. 940, &c.]

[r] Gerson, Sermon on Easter Day, [Op. P. iv. fol. 93. H.]

John, and Martin, and Formosus, and Stephen, and Romanus, and Theodorus, and John, and Benedictus, and Sergius, who clashed one with another, and abrogated the decrees one of another over and over again, such infallible judges? Neither is it mere "matter of fact[s]" to decree the ordinations of a lawful Bishop to be void. To omit many others.

[John VIII. Martin II. Formosus I. Stephen VI. Romanus I. Theodorus II. John IX. Bened. IV. Sergius III. A.D. 842-911.]

But howsoever they tell us, that "the first See cannot be judged[t]." I will not trouble myself about the credit of the authorities, whether they be true or counterfeit; nor whether the first See signify Rome alone, or any other of the five Proto-Patriarchates. Thus much is certain, that by judgment of discretion any private man may judge the Pope, and withdraw from him in his errors, and resist him if he invade either the bodies or the souls of men, as Bellarmine confesseth[u]: that in the court of conscience every ordinary pastor may judge him, and bind him, and loose him, as an ordinary man: and, by their leaves, in the external court, by coercive power, if he commit civil crimes, the emperor; if ecclesiastical, a Council, or the emperor with a Council, may judge him; and in some cases declare him to be fallen from his Papal dignity by the sentence of the law, in other cases, if he be incorrigible, depose him by the sentence of the judge. But there is a great difference between the judgment of subjects (as those ecclesiastics were) and the judgment of a sovereign prince; between the judgment of a general Council, and the judgment of an assembly of Suffragans and inferiors. And yet the Roman clergy are known to have deposed Liberius their own Bishop[x]; and justly, or otherwise Felix their Martyr had been a schismatic.

2. Their other challenge of temporal power, whether directly, or indirectly and "*in ordine ad spiritualia*[y]," cannot choose but render all Christians, especially sovereign princes, jealous and suspicious of their power, and averse from the communion of those persons, who maintain so dangerous positions so destructive to their propriety. The power of the keys

[2. A temporal power over princes either directly or indirectly.]

[s] [Bellarm., De Roman. Pontif., lib. iv. c. 12, Op. tom. i. p 999. D, speaking of Stephen VI. and Sergius III.]

[t] Concil. Sinuess., [ap. Labb., Concil., tom. i. p. 943.] et Roman. [(A.D. 324) c. 20, ibid. p. 1555.]

[u] [De Roman. Pontif., lib. ii. c. 29. as before p. 820. A.]

[x] [Baron., Annal., tom. iii, in an. 357, num. 44.]

[y] [Bellarm., De. R. P., lib. v. c. 6, as before p. 1062. D.]

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doth not extend itself to any secular rights, neither can ecclesiastical censures alter or invalidate the laws of God and nature, or the municipal laws of a land; all which do enjoin the obedience of children to their parents and of subjects to their sovereigns. Gregory the Seventh began this practice against Henry the Fourth. But what Gregory did bind upon earth, God Almighty did not bind in Heaven. His Papal blessing turned to a curse; and, instead of an imperial crown, Rodolph found the just reward of his treason [z].

The best is, that they who give these exorbitant privileges to Popes, do it with so many cautions and reservations, that they signify nothing, and may be taken away with as much ease as they are given.

The Pope (say they) is infallible, not in his chamber, but in his Chair; not in the premises, but in the conclusion; not in conclusions of matter of fact, but in conclusions of matter of Faith; not always in all conclusions of matter of Faith, but only when he useth the right means and due diligence [a]. And who knoweth when he doth that? So every Christian is infallible, if he would and could keep himself to the infallible rule which God hath given him. 'Take nothing, and hold it fast.'

So likewise for his temporal power over princes, they say the Pope, not as Pope, but as a spiritual prince, hath a certain kind of power, temporal, but not merely temporal; not directly, but indirectly and in order to spiritual things [b].

"*Quo teneam vultus mutantem Protea nodo?*"[c]

CHAP. IX.

AN ANSWER TO THE OBJECTIONS BROUGHT BY THE ROMANISTS, TO PROVE THE ENGLISH PROTESTANTS TO BE SCHISMATICS.

But it is not enough to charge the Court of Rome, unless we can discharge ourselves, and acquit our own Church of the guilt of schism, which they seek to cast upon us.

[z] [See Bowden's Life of Greg. VII, bk. iii. c. 17.]
[a] [Bellarm., De R. P., lib. iv. c. 2.]
[b] [Id., ibid., lib. v. c. 6.]
[c] [Horat., Epist., i. 1. 90.]

I. First, they object, that we have separated ourselves schismatically from the communion of the Catholic Church.

1. We have not separated ourselves from the Catholic Church.

God forbid. Then we will acknowledge, without any more to do, that we have separated ourselves from Christ, and all His Holy Ordinances, and from the benefit of His Passion, and all hope of salvation.

But the truth is, we have no otherwise separated ourselves from the communion of the Catholic Church, than all the primitive orthodox Fathers and Doctors and Churches did long before us, that is, in the opinion of the Donatists, as we do now in the opinion of the Romanists; because the Romanists limit the Catholic Church now to Rome in Italy and those Churches that are subordinate to it, as the Donatists did then to Cartenna in Africk and those Churches that adhered to it. We are so far from separating ourselves from the communion of the Catholic Church, that we make the communion of the Christian Church to be thrice more Catholic than the Romanists themselves do make it, and maintain communion with thrice so many Christians, as they do. By how much our Church should make itself, as the case stands, more Roman than it is, by so much it should thereby become less Catholic than it is.

I have shewed before[d], out of the canons and constitutions of our Church, that we have not separated ourselves simply and absolutely from the communion of any particular Church whatsoever, even the Roman itself so far forth as it is Catholic, but only from their errors, wherein they had first separated themselves from their predecessors.

To this I add, that it was not we, but the Court of Rome itself, that first separated England from the communion of the Church of Rome, by their unjust censures, excommunications, and interdictions, which they thundered out against the realm for denying their spiritual sovereignty by Divine right, before the reformation made by Protestants[e].

[II. We are not contumacious towards the Council of Trent.]

II. Secondly, we are charged with schismatical contumacy and disobedience to the decrees and determinations of the general Council of Trent.

But we believe that convent of Trent to have been no

[d] [c. vi. pp. 197—199.]

[e] Bull. Paul. III. [A. D. 1535], ap. Sander., De Schism., lib. i. pp. [131, sq. ed. 1610.]

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general, nor yet patriarchal; no free, no lawful, Council. How was that general, where there was not any one Bishop out of all the other Patriarchates, or any proctors or commissioners from them, either present, or summoned to be present, except peradventure some titular European mock prelates without cures, such as Olaus Magnus, intituled Archbishop of Upsala, or Sir Robert the Scottish-man, intituled Archbishop of Armagh[f]? How was that general, or so much as patriarchal, where so great a part of the West was absent, wherein there were twice so many Episcopelles out of Italy (the Pope's professed vassals, and many of them his hungry parasitical pensioners), as there were out of all other Christian kingdoms and nations put together[g]? How was that general, wherein there were not so many Bishops present, at the determination of the weightiest controversies concerning the rule of Faith and the exposition thereof, as the king of England could have called together in his own dominions at any one time upon a month's warning[g]? How was that general, which was not generally received by all Churches? even some of the Roman communion not admitting it[h]. We have seen heretofore, how the French ambassador, in the name of the king and Church of France, protested against it[i]; and until this day, though they do not oppose it, but acquiesce, to avoid such disadvantages as must ensue thereupon, yet they did never admit it. Let no man say, that they rejected the determinations thereof only in point of discipline, not of doctrine; for the same canonical obedience is equally due to an acknowledged general Council in point of discipline, as in point of doctrine. And as it was not general, so neither was it free, nor lawful: not free;—where the place could afford no security to the one party, where the accuser was to be the judge[j], where any one that spake a free

The Council of Trent not general.

Nor free;

[f] [Sleidan, Comment. de Statu Relig. et Reipubl., Carolo V. Cæsare, lib. xvii. p. 488, Francof. 1610.]

[g] [Of thirty-three Bishops who were present at the opening of the Council of Trent in 1546, twenty-five were Italians (Sleidan, ibid.). Of sixty-two present in the 16th Session, in 1552, twenty-two were Italians (Sleidan, ibid. lib. xxiii. p. 693.). Of 267 present in the last Session, in 1563, 187 were Italians (Richer., Hist. Concil. Gener., lib. iv. p. ii. c. 5, § 7.). That the Pope pensioned Bishops there, see Fra Paolo's Hist. du Conc. de Trente par Courayer, lib. ii. cc. 20, 29, liv. vi. c. 23.]

[h] [See the Hist. du Conc. de Trente, liv. viii. cc. 85—88, and Append. No. I.]

[i] [c. vii. p. 221, note r.]

[j] Sleid., lib. xvii. [in an. 1546, p. 490.]

word had his mouth stopped, or was turned out of the Council[k], where the few Protestants, that adventured to come thither, were not admitted to dispute[l], where the legates "gave auricular votes[m]," where the Fathers were noted to be guided by "the Spirit sent from Rome in a mail[n]," where divers, not only new Bishops, but new Bishoprics, were created, during the sitting of the convent, to make the Papalins able to over-vote the Tramontanes[o]: nor yet lawful;—in regard of the place, which ought to have been in Germany; '*actor debet rei forum sequi*'—'a guilty person is to be judged in his province,' and the cause to be pleaded where the crime was committed; and likewise in regard of the judge; in every judgment there ought to be four distinct persons, the accuser, the witness, the guilty person, and the judge; but in the Council of Trent, the Pope by himself or his ministers acted all these parts himself; he was the right guilty person, and yet withal the accuser of the Protestants, the witness against them, and their judge; lastly, no man can be lawfully condemned before he be heard; but in this Council the Protestants were not allowed to propose their case, much less to defend it by lawful disputation[p]. Nor lawful.

III. Thirdly, it is objected, and here they think they have us sure locked up, that we cannot deny but that the Bishop of Rome was our Patriarch, and that we have rebelled against him, and cast off our canonical obedience in our Reformation. III. We have not substracted our obedience from our lawful Patriarch.

To this supposed killing argument I give three clear solutions.

1. First, that the British Islands neither were, nor ought to be, subject to the jurisdiction of the Roman Patriarch, as hath been sufficiently demonstrated in my third conclusion[q]. For all Patriarchal jurisdiction, being of human institution, must proceed either from some canon or decree of a general Council, or of such a provincial Council as had power to oblige the Britons to obedience; or from the grant or concession of some of their sovereign princes; or from the [1. The British islands were not, nor ought to be, subject to the jurisdiction of the Roman Patriarch.]

[k] [Hist. du Conc. de Trente, liv. ii. c. 61.]

[l] [Sleid., lib. xxiii. in an. 1552, pp. 686—692.]

[m] [A saying of Lanssac or Du Bellay, in reference to their intriguing for votes: Hist. du Conc. de Trente, liv. vii. c. 21.]

[n] Hist. Concil. Trid. [bk. vi. p. 497, ed. 1640.]

[o] [C. Molin., Consil. super fact. Concil. Trid., § 21.—Expos. Caus., ob quas Elector. &c. Imp. Germ. Concil. Trid. non agnoscant (A. D. 1562), ep. Goldast., Polit. Imper. P. xxvii. num. x. pp. 1268, 1269.]

[p] Sleid. lib. xxiii. [pp. 686, sq.]

[q] [c. v. pp. 152, &c.]

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voluntary submission of a free people; or, lastly, from custom and prescription. If they had any such canon, or grant, or submission, they would quickly produce it; but we know they cannot. If they plead custom and prescription immemorial, the burden must rest upon them to prove it; but when they have searched all the authors over and over who have written of British affairs in those days, and all their records and registers, they shall not be able to find any one act, or so much as any one footstep, or the least sign, of any Roman Patriarchal jurisdiction in Britain, or over the Britons, for the first six hundred years; and for after-ages, the Roman Bishops neither held their old patriarchate, nor gained any quiet settled possession of their new monarchy.

[2. Patriarchal power is not of Divine right; and therefore may either be quitted or forfeited or transferred.]

2. Secondly, I answer, that Patriarchal power is not of Divine right, but human institution; and therefore may either be quitted, or forfeited, or transferred: and if ever the Bishops of Rome had any Patriarchal jurisdiction in Britain, yet they had both quitted it, and forfeited it over and over again, and it was lawfully transferred. To separate from an ecclesiastical authority which is disclaimed and disavowed by the pretenders to it, and forfeited by abuse and rebellion, and lawfully transferred, is no schism.

The Roman Bishops *quitted* their Patriarchate.

a. First, I say, they *quitted* their pretended Patriarchal right, when they assumed and usurped to themselves the name and thing of Universal Bishops, Spiritual Sovereigns, and sole Monarchs of the Church, and Masters of all Christians. To be a Patriarch, and to be an Universal Bishop in that sense[r], are inconsistent, and imply a contradiction *in adjecto:* the one professeth human, the other challengeth Divine, institution; the one hath a limited jurisdiction over a certain province, the other pretendeth to an unlimited jurisdiction over the whole world; the one is subject to the canons of the Fathers, and a mere executor of them, and can do nothing either against them, or besides them; the other challengeth an absolute sovereignty above the canons, besides the canons, against the canons, to make them, to abrogate them, to suspend their influence by a *non-obstante*, to dispense with them in such cases wherein the canon gives no dispensative power, at his own pleasure, when he will, where he will, to

[r] [See preceding chap., pp. 253, 254.]

whom he will. Therefore to claim a power paramount and sovereign monarchical royalty over the Church, is implicitly and in effect to disclaim a Patriarchal aristocratical dignity.

So,

"Non tellus cymbam, tellurem cymba reliquit;"—

it was not we that deserted our pretended Patriarch, but our pretended Patriarch deserted his Patriarchal office. So long as the Popes contented themselves with Patriarchal rights, they soared no higher than to be the executors of the canons. When Acacius complained that he was condemned by the sole authority of the Roman Bishop without a synodal sentence, Gelasius the Pope then pleaded for himself, that "Acacius was not the beginner of a new error, but the follower of an old; and therefore it was not necessary that a new synodal sentence should be given against him, but that the old should be executed: therefore" (saith he) "I have only put an old sentence in execution, not promulged a new[s]."

β. And as they had quitted their title, so likewise they had *forfeited* it, both by their rebellion, and by their exorbitant abuses. And *forfeited* it;

First, by their notorious rebellion against general Councils. By rebellion;

The authority of an inferior ceaseth when he renounceth his loyalty to his superior, from whom he derives his power. A general Council is the supreme ecclesiastical power, to which Patriarchal power was always subordinate and subject. General Councils with the consent of sovereign princes have exempted cities and provinces from Patriarchal jurisdiction[t]; with the consent of sovereign princes they have erected new Patriarchates, as at Hierusalem and Constantinople[u]; and made the Patriarch of Constantinople equal in all privileges to the Patriarch of old Rome[x]. Against this supreme ecclesiastical power the Popes have not only rebelled themselves, but have compelled all Bishops under their jurisdiction to take an oath to maintain their rebellious usurpations.

When a president of a province shall rebel against his

[s] Gelas., [ap. Gratian., Decret., P. ii. Causa] 24, Qu. 1. c. 1.

[t] Concil. Constantinop. [seu Trullan. A. D. 692.] can. 39. [ap. Labb., Concil., tom. vi. pp. 1160, 1161.]

[u] [Concil. Nicæn. [A. D. 323] can. 7. [ap. Labb., Concil., tom. ii. p. 32.—Concil. Chalced. (A.D. 451.) Act. vii., ibid., tom. iv. pp. 612—617. See Bingh., bk. ii. c. 16. § 11.—Concil. Constantinop. (A.D. 381) can. 3. ibid., tom. ii. p. 947.]

[x] Concil. Chalced. can. 28. [ap. Labb., Concil., tom. iv. p. 769.]

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sovereign prince, and seek to usurp the whole empire to himself, and impose new oaths of allegiance upon his fellow-subjects, it is not treason but loyalty in them to thrust him by the head and shoulders out of the gates of their city. When a steward not imposed upon the family by the master, but chosen in trust by his fellow-servants during their master's absence, shall so far violate his trust, that he will by force make himself the master of the family, and usurp a dominion, not only over his fellows, but over his master's wife and children, and oblige his fellow-servants to acknowledge an independent sovereign power in him; it is not want of duty, but fidelity, to substract their obedience from him. This is our case with the Roman Bishops. They have sought to usurp a dominion over the Catholic Church, the Spouse of Christ, and all their fellow-servants. Then ought not all good Christians to adhere to the Catholic Church, and desert a schismatical Patriarch? They have rebelled against the representative Church, a general Council. Should we involve ourselves in their rebellion and perjury, by swearing to maintain and make good their usurpations?

I confess, inferiors are not competent judges of their superiors; but in this case of a subordinate superior, and in a matter of heresy or schism already defined by the Church, the sentence of the judge is not necessary; the sentence of the law and the notoriety of the fact are sufficient. It is not we that judge him, but the Councils of Constance and Basle. Neither could our ancestors hope to have a general Council suddenly, whilst so great a part of Christendom was under the Turk; nor a free occidental Council, whilst the usurper had all ecclesiastical power in his hands. What remained then, but to reform themselves? According to the sage advice of Gerson, "I see that the reformation of the Church will never be effected by a Council, without the presidence of a well affected, wise, and constant guide. Let the members therefore provide for themselves throughout the kingdoms and provinces, when they shall be able, and know how to compass this work[y]."

And by abuse.

Moreover, as they have forfeited their power by their rebellion, so they have most justly also by their rapine,

[y] Gerson, [Dial.] Apolog., de Concil. Constant., [Op.] P. iii. [fol. 300, Z.]

extortions, and terrible and exorbitant abuses, the most shameful abuses that ever were committed by persons trusted.

To pass by the Hundred Grievances of Germany, the complaints and protestations and Pragmatical Sanctions of France, the Memorials of Castile, the Sobs of Portugal; and to confine my discourse to the sufferings of our own nation, which have been more particularly related already in this treatise, when I set down the grounds of our Reformation[z].

They robbed the king of his investitures of Bishops, which Henry the First protested to the Pope himself by his proctor, that he would not lose for his kingdom, and added threatenings to his protestations[a]: yet, to gratify Anselm, who (though otherwise most deserving) was the first violator of the ancient customs of our kingdom in that kind, he waved his right[b]; but soon after resumed it, made Rodolph Bishop of London Archbishop of Canterbury, and invested him by a crosier and a ring[c]. The like he did to many others. They robbed the king of his patronages, by their collations, and provisions, and expectative graces. Two or three or ten benefices were not accounted sufficient for a Roman courtier in those days, but a hundred, or two hundred, or more[d]. They robbed him of the last appeals of his subjects, contrary to the ancient laws of England[e]. They fomented the rebellion of his own subjects at home, sometimes of his barons, sometimes of his Bishops, playing fast and loose on both sides for advantage. They disinherited him of his crown. They gave away his kingdom for a prey to a foreign prince. They incited strangers to make war against him. And they themselves by mere collusion and tricks had well near thrust him out of his throne.

They robbed the clergy in a manner of their whole jurisdiction by their exemptions, and reservations, and visitations, and suspensions, and appeals, and legantine courts, and nunciatures, "thrusting their sickles into every man's harvest[f]." They robbed them of their estates and livelihoods, by their provisions, and pensions, by their coadjutorships, and first-

[z] [c. vi. pp. 179—192.]
[a] Matth. Paris., in an. 1103. [p. 59.]
[b] Idem, in an. 1107. [p. 63.]
[c] [Idem.,] in an. 1113. [p. 65.]
[d] Nich. de Clamengiis, De Corrupto Eccles. Statu, [in Append. ad Fascic. Rer. Expetend. et Fugiend., p. 559.]
[e] Matth. Paris., in an. 1164. [pp. 102, 103.]
[f] [Bernard., De Consider. in Papam, lib. i., ap. Goldast., S. Rom. Imp., tom. ii. p 70.]

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fruits, and tenths, by the vast charge of their investitures, and palls, and I know not how many other sorts of exactions and arbitrary impositions. The most ancient of these was the pall, whereof our king Canutus complained long since at Rome, and had remedy promised[g].

They robbed the nobility and commonalty many ways, as hath been formerly related.

If all these were not a sufficient cause of forfeiture, certainly abuse did never forfeit office.

[Their] Patriarchal power was lawfully *transferred.*

γ. And though they had sometimes had a just Patriarchal power, and had neither forfeited it by rebellion nor abuse; yet, the king and the whole body of the kingdom, by their legislative power, substracting their obedience from them and erecting a new Patriarchate within their own dominions, it is a sufficient warrant for all Englishmen to suspend their obedience to the one, and apply themselves to the other, for the welfare and tranquillity of the whole body politic, as hath before been declared[h].

The power which we rejected was not Patriarchal nor canonical.

3. Thirdly, I answer, that obedience to a just Patriarch is of no larger extent than the canons of the Fathers do enjoin it; and, since the division of Britain from the empire, no canons are, or ever were, of force with us, further than they were received and by their incorporation became Britannic laws; which, as they cannot, nor ever could, be imposed upon the king and kingdom by a foreign Patriarch by constraint, so, when they are found by experience prejudicial to the public good, they may as freely, by the same king and kingdom, be rejected.

But I shall wind up this string a little higher; suppose that the whole body of the canon law were in force in England (which it never was), yet neither the Papal power which we have cashiered, nor any part of it, was ever given to any Patriarch by the ancient canons, and by consequence the separation is not schismatical nor any withdrawing of canonical obedience. What power a Metropolitan had over the Bishops of his own province by the canon-law, the same and no other had a Patriarch over the Metropolitans and Bishops of sundry provinces within his own Patriarchate;

[g] Baron., Annal., tom. xi., in an. 1027. [num. 4.]

[h] [c. vi. pp. 177, 178.]

but a Metropolitan anciently could do nothing out of his own diocese without the concurrence of the major part of the Bishops of his province; nor the Patriarch in like manner without the advice and consent of his Metropolitans and Bishops.

Wherein then consisted Patriarchal authority? In ordaining their Metropolitans (for with inferior Bishops they might not meddle), or confirming them, or imposing of hands; in giving the pall: in convocating Patriarchal synods, and presiding in them; in pronouncing sentence according to the plurality of voices (that was, when Metropolitical synods did not suffice to determine some emergent difficulties or differences): and, lastly, in some few honorary privileges, as the acclamation of the Bishops to them at the latter end of a general Council, and the like, which signify not much[i]. In all this there is nothing that we dislike or would seek to have abrogated. Never any Patriarch was guilty of those exactions, extortions, encroachments upon the civil rights of princes and their subjects, or upon the ecclesiastical rights of Bishops, or of those provisions, and pensions, and exemptions, and reservations, and dispensations, and inhibitions, and pardons, and indulgences, and usurped sovereignty, which our Reformers banished out of England. And therefore their separation was not any ways from *Patriarchal* authority.

I confess, that by reason of the great difficulty and charge of convocating so many Bishops, and keeping them so long together until all causes were heard and determined, and by reason of those inconveniencies which did fall upon their Churches in their absence, provincial Councils were first reduced from twice to once in the year, and afterwards to once in three years[k]. And in process of time the hearing of appeals and such like causes, and the execution of the canons in that behalf, were referred to Metropolitans; until the Papacy swallowed up all the authority of Patriarchs, and Metropolitans, and Bishops. "*Serpens serpentem nisi ederet, non fieret draco*[l]."

[i] [Bingh., Orig. Eccles. bk. ii. c. 17. § 12—19.]

[k] [Bingh., bk. i. c. 10. § 3.—Thomass., Eccles. Vet. et Nov. Discipl. P. ii. lib. iii. c. 57. § 8.]

[l] [See Erasm., Adag., Chil. iii. Cent. 3. Prov. 61.]

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IV. Peradventure it may be urged in the fourth place, that Gregory the Great, who by his ministers was the first converter of the English nation about the six hundredth year of our Lord, did thereby acquire to himself and his successors a Patriarchal authority and power over England for the future.

IV. Gregory the Great acquired no Patriarchal right in England by the conversion of it.

We do with all due thankfulness to God, and honourable respect to his memory, acknowledge, that that blessed Saint was the chief instrument, under God, to hold forth the first light of saving truth to the English nation, who did formerly [Lu. 1. 79.] "sit in darkness and in the shadow of death;" whereby he did more truly merit the name of Great, than by possessing the chair of St. Peter. And therefore whilst the sometimes flourishing, now poor persecuted, Church of England, shall have any being,

"Semper honos nomenque suum laudesque manebunt[m]."

But whether this benefit did intitle St. Gregory and his successors to the Patriarchate of all or any part of the British Islands, deserves a further consideration.

[Consideration 1.] 1. First, consider, that at that time (and until this day), half of Britain itself and two third parts of the Britannic Islands did remain in the possession of the Britons, or Scottish and Irish, who still continued Christians, and had their Bishops and Protarchs or Patriarchs of their own; from whom we do derive in part our Christianity, and Holy Orders, and privileges. Without all controversy the conversion of the Saxons by St. Gregory could not prejudice the just liberties of them or their successors.

[Consideration 2.] 2. Secondly, consider, that the half of Britain which was conquered and possessed by the Saxons, was not solely and altogether peopled by Saxons. A world of British Christians did remain and inhabit among the conquerors. For we do not find, either that the Saxons did go about to extirpate the British nation, or compel them to turn renegadoes from their religion, or so much as demolish their churches; but contented themselves to chase away persons of eminency and parts and power, whom they had reason to suspect and fear; and made use of vulgar persons and spirits for their own advantage. This is certain, that, Britain being an island whither there is no access by land, all those who were trans-

[m] [Æn. i. 609.]

ported, or could have been transported, by sea on such a sudden, could not of themselves alone, in probability of reason, have planted or peopled the sixth part of so much land as was really possessed by the Saxons. And therefore we need not wonder if Queen Bertha, a Galloise and a Christian, did find a congregation of Christians at Canterbury to join with her in her religion, and a church called St. Martin's builded to her hand, and stood in need of Lethargus a Bishop to order the affairs of Christian religion, before ever St. Austin set foot upon English ground [n]. Neither did the British want their churches in other places also, as appears by that commission which the king did give to Austin (among other things), to repair the churches that were decayed [o]. These poor subdued persons had as much right to their ancient privileges, as the rest of the unconquered Britons.

[Consideration 3.] 3. Thirdly, consider, that all that part of Britain which was both conquered and inhabited by the Saxons, was not one entire monarchy, but divided into seven distinct kingdoms, which were not so suddenly converted to the Christian Faith all at once, but in long tract of time, long after St. Gregory slept with his fathers, upon several occasions, by several persons. It was Kent (and some few adjacent counties), that was converted by Austin. It is true, that Ethelbert king of Kent, after his own conversion, did endeavour to have planted the Christian Faith both in the kingdoms of Northumberland and the East-Angles, with fair hopes of good success for a season. But, alas, it wanted root; within a short time both kings and kingdoms apostated from Christ, and forsook their religion [p]. The kingdoms of the West Saxons and of the South Saxons under Kingils their king, who did unite the heptarchy into a monarchy, were converted by the preaching of Berinus an Italian, by the persuasions of Oswald king of Northumberland [q]. Oswald king of Northumberland was baptized in Scotland, and religion luckily planted in that kingdom by Aidan a Scottish

[n] Bed., [Hist. Eccles.,] lib. i. cc. 25, 26. [*Luidhard*us.]
[o] Bed., [ibid.,] lib. i. c. 26.
[p] [Id., ibid., lib. ii. cc. 9, 15, lib. iii. c. 1.]
[q] Speed, [Chron.,] in the Kings of the West Saxons, an. 612. [p. 305. § 6. Ed. Lond. 1627.]

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Bishop [r]. Penda king of Mercia was converted and christened by Finanus, successor of Aidan, by the means of a marriage with a Christian princess of the royal family of Northumberland [s]. Sigibert king of the East Angles, in whose days, and by whose means, religion took root among the East Saxons, was converted and christened in France [t]. All these Saxons which were converted by Britons or Scots, may as justly plead for their old immunities as the Britons themselves. We acknowledge St. Gregory to have been the first that did break the ice. And yet we see how small a proportion of the inhabitants of the British Islands do owe their conversion to Rome, in probability not a tenth part.

[Consideration 4.] 4. Fourthly, consider, that the conversion of a nation to the Christian Faith is a good ground in equity (all other circumstances concurring), why they should rather submit themselves, or a general Council assign them, to that See that converted them, than to any other Patriarchate; as was justly pleaded in the case between the Bishops of Rome and Constantinople about the right of jurisdiction over the Bulgarians [u]; but the conversion of a nation is no ground at all to invest their converter presently with Patriarchal authority over them, or any ecclesiastical superiority: especially where too great a distance of place doth render such jurisdiction useless and burdensome; and most especially where it cannot be done without prejudice to a former owner, thrust out of his just right merely by the power of the sword (as the British Primates were), or to the subjecting of a free nation to a foreign prelate without or beyond their own consent. In probability of reason the Britons owed their first conversion to the Eastern Church, as appeareth by their accord with them in Baptismal rites, and the observation of Easter; yet never were subject to any eastern Patriarch. Sundry of our British and English Bishops have converted foreign nations, yet never pretended to any jurisdiction over them.

[Consideration 5.] 5. Fifthly and lastly, consider, that, whatsoever title or right St. Gregory did acquire, or might have acquired, by his

[r] Bed., [Hist. Eccles.,] lib. iii. cc. 4 et 5.
[s] Bed., [ibid.,] lib. iii. c. 21.
[t] Speed, [Chron.,] in the Kings of the East Angles, an. [636, p. 326. § 5.]
[u] [Vita Hadrian. II. Pap., in Labb., Concil., tom. viii. p. 893.—in an. 869.]

piety and deserts towards the English nation, it was personal, and could not descend from him to such successors, who both forfeited it many ways, and quickly (within four or five years) after his death quitted their Patriarchate, and set a higher title to a spiritual monarchy on foot, whilst the most part of England remained yet Pagan, when Pope Boniface did obtain of Phocas the usurper (an usurping Pope from an usurping emperor) to be Universal Bishop [x].

[V. Minor objections.]

V. Their cannon-shot is past; that which remains is but a small volley of musquets. They add, that we have schismatically separated ourselves from the communion of our ancestors, whom we believe to be damned; that we have separated ourselves from our ecclesiastical predecessors, by breaking in sunder the line of Apostolical succession, whilst our Presbyters did take upon them to ordain Bishops, and to propagate to their successors more than they received from their predecessors; that our Presbyters are but equivocal Presbyters, wanting both the right matter and form of Presbyterial Ordination (to extinguish the Order is more schismatical, than to decline their authority); and, lastly, that we derive our Episcopal jurisdiction from the crown.

1. We condemn not our fathers.

1. First, for our natural fathers, the answer is easy. We do not condemn them, nor separate ourselves from them. Charity requires us both to think well, and speak well, of them. But prudence commands us likewise to look well to ourselves. We believe our fathers might partake of some errors of the Roman Church; we do not believe that they were guilty of any heretical pravity, but held always the truth implicitly in the preparation of their minds, and were always ready to receive it when God should be pleased to reveal it. Upon these grounds, we are so far from damning them, that we are confident they were saved by a general repentance. He, that searcheth carefully into his own heart to find out his errors, and repenteth truly of all his known sins, and beggeth pardon for his unknown errors proceeding out of invincible, or but probable, ignorance, in God's acceptation repenteth of all. Otherwise the very best of Christians were in a miserable condition. For "who can tell how oft he offendeth?" [Ps. xix. 12. Prayer Bk.]

[x] [See pp. 131, 158.]

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decree of Eugenius the Fourth[d]; a time too late in conscience for introducing either a double matter and form, or a new matter and form, of that, which is acknowledged by them, and not denied by us in a larger sense, to be a Sacrament. All we say is this, that it is not a Sacrament generally necessary to salvation, as Baptism and the Holy Eucharist are.

4. We derive no jurisdiction from the crown.

4. Neither do we draw or derive any *spiritual* jurisdiction from the crown; but either liberty and power to exercise, actually and lawfully, upon the subjects of the crown, that habitual jurisdiction which we received at our ordination; or the enlargement and dilatation of our jurisdiction objectively, by the prince's referring more causes to the cognizance of the Church than formerly it had; or, lastly, the increase of it subjectively, by their giving to ecclesiastical judges an external coercive power, which formerly they had not. To go yet one step higher; in cases that are indeed spiritual, or merely ecclesiastical, such as concern the doctrine of Faith, or administration of the Sacraments, or the ordaining or degrading of ecclesiastical persons, sovereign princes have (and have only) an 'architectonical' power, to see that clergymen do their duties in their proper places. But this power is always most properly exercised by the advice and ministry of ecclesiastical persons; and sometimes necessarily, as in the degradation of one in Holy Orders by ecclesiastical delegates. Therefore our law provides, that nothing shall be judged heresy with us *de novo*, but "by the High Court of Parliament" (wherein our Bishops did always bear a part), "with the assent" (that is more than advice) "of the clergy in their Convocation[e]." In sum,—we hold our benefices from the king, but our offices from Christ; the king doth nominate us, but Bishops do ordain us. I touch these things more briefly now, because I have handled them more at large in a full 'Answer to all the Objections brought by S. N. Doctor of Theology, in the twentieth chapter of the Guide of Faith, or the third Part of his Antidote against our Holy Orders, our jurisdiction, and

[d] An. 1439. [Decret. Eugen. Papæ IV. ad Armenos (in Concil. Florentin.), ap. Labb., Concil., tom. xiii. p. 538. E. See Bingh., bk. iv. c. 6. § 13. and Courayer, as before quoted, c. 3.]

[e] [1 Eliz. c. 1. § 36.]

power to expound Scripture[f];' which, if God send opportunity, may, if it be thought convenient, perhaps one day see the light.

Bishops not subject to nor ordained by, Presbyters of old in Britain.

The confounding of those two distinct acts, intimated by me in this paragraph, that is, nomination or election, with ordination or consecration, hath begotten many mistakes in the world on several sides; among which, the respect I owe to the British Churches will not permit me to pass by one untouched.

[Instances from Bede mistaken.]

I have read related[g], but confusedly, out of venerable Bede, sundry histories by very learned authors of 'Aidan, a Scottish Bishop, sent to Oswald, king of Northumberland, for the conversion of his people, from the Island of Hy, wherein was one of the principal monasteries of the northern or Ulster Scots,' &c.; "*sicque eum ordinantes ad prædicandum miserunt*[h]"—"so the college ordaining him Bishop sent him to preach;" as likewise[i] of 'Columbanus his coming into Britain, where he had assigned unto him the island Hy or Iona for the building of a monastery;' "*habere autem solet ipsa insula rectorem semper Abbatem Presbyterum, cujus juri et omnis provincia, et ipsi etiam Episcopi ordine inusitato, debeant esse subjecti;*"—"that island used to have a governor, an Abbot, a Presbyter, to whose jurisdiction both the whole province, and the Bishops themselves by an unusual order, ought to be subject[k]." These testimonies they account so clear, as to be able to 'enlighten the dullest eye.' And hence they conclude, not only that Presbyters may ordain Bishops and be their spiritual governors, but that it was "*communis quodammodo Anglorum omnium regula*," "a common rule of all the English in a manner," that "Bishops being monks, should be subject to their abbots[l]."

I honour Bede as the light of his age, who justly gained to himself the name of Venerable throughout the Occidental Church. And I doubt not but he writ what he heard. But certainly he could not have such clear distinct knowledge of particular circumstances, as they who have been upon the place and seen the records thereof.

[f] [Discourse vii. Part iv.]
[g] Blondel., Apolog. [pro Sentent. Hieron. de Episcop., Sect. iii.], pp. 367, &c.
[h] [Bed., Hist. Eccles., lib. iii. c. 5.]
[i] [Blondel., ibid.,] p. 370.
[j] [Bed., ibid., c. 4.]
[k] [Blondel., ibid.,] p. 367.
[l] [Id., ibid.,] p. 371.

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[First mistake.] 1. First, there is a great mistake in the person. Columba and Columbanus lived both in the same age, but Columbanus was much the younger; who propagated Christian religion much, but it was in other parts of the world. It was not Columbanus, but Columba, that converted the British Scots, and founded both the Bishopric of Derry by another name, and the Abbey of Derry; and likewise the Bishopric of the Isles in Scotland, and the Abbey of Iona;—he whom the Irish call to this day Columkill, "*quia multarum cellarum pater*[m]" (as his own scholar gives the reason in the description of his life), "because he was the father or founder of many churches or cells[n]."

[Second mistake.] 2. Secondly, they confound the places;—the Abbey of Derry or Derrimagh, '*quod linguâ Scotorum significat campum roborum*[o]' (saith Bede)—'which in Irish' (that was the ancient Scottish) 'signifies a field or plain of oaks,' which was indeed situated in the territories of the northern Ulster Scots, with the Abbey of Iona situated in Britain.

[Third mistake.] 3. Thirdly, they confound the actions;—mission, which is no more than nomination or election, with ordination or consecration. Who so proper to choose a Bishop as the Chapter? So was that convent until the Reformation. Who so proper to ordain as the Bishop? For neither Derry, nor the Isles, did ever want a Bishop from their first conversion. So, *referendo singula singulis*, the words of Bede are plain,—the Chapter named, and the Bishop ordained.

[Fourth mistake.] 4. Fourthly, they mistake the subjection. The Abbot was the lord of the manor, and so the Bishop was subject to the Abbot *in temporalibus*. But the Abbot was every where subject to the Bishop *in spiritualibus*, who did annually visit both the Abbey and the Abbot, as by the visitation-rolls and records (if these intestine wars have not made an end of them) may appear. You see upon what conjectural grounds critics many times build new paradoxes, which one latent circumstance being known is able to disperse and dissipate with all their probable presumptions. If it had not been thus, it is no new thing for an Abbot to challenge Episcopal jurisdic-

[m] [Vita II. S. Columb., c. 1, ap. Colgan., Triad. Thaumat. Acta &c., ed. Lovan. 1647, and Append. V. c. 1. ibid.]

[n] [See Ussher, De Primord. Brit. Eccles., c. xv. pp. 687-910.]

[o] [Bed., Hist. Eccles., lib. iii. c. 4.—See Ussher, ibid., c. xv. pp. 691. 1034.]

tion, or to contend with his Bishop about it. What is this to mere presbyters *quà tales?*

5. Lastly, they contradict Venerable Bede. He saith it was "*ordine inusitato*"—"by an unusual order[p]." They say it was "in a manner the common rule of all the English[q]." And this they say upon pretence of a decree of the Council of Hereford, that 'such Bishops, as had' voluntarily 'professed monkery, should perform their promised obedience[r];' which is altogether impertinent to their purpose. Doth any man doubt, whether Bishops might freely of their own accord enter into a religious order? or that they were not as well obliged to perform their vow as others? Some emperors have done the same; yet no man will conclude from thence, that emperors are inferior to Abbots.

[Fifth mistake.]

Such mistakes are all their instances, except they light by chance upon an unformed Church before it were well settled: —as if a man should argue thus; there have been no Bishops in Virginia during the reigns of King James and King Charles, therefore the clergy there were ordained by presbyters. We know the contrary,—that they had their ordination in England. So had the clergy, in unformed Churches, foreign ordination.

Unformed Churches no fit precedent.

This is part of that which we have to say for a proper Patriarchate, and for our exemption from the jurisdiction of the Roman Court, from which our separation is much wider than from the Roman Church. Other differences may make
136 particular breaches, but the Roman Court makes the universal schism between them and all the rest of the Christian world, and hath been much complained of, and in part shaken off, by some of their own communion.

I could wish with all my heart, that they were as ready to quit their pretended prerogatives,—which not we alone, but all the world except themselves, and a great part of themselves privately, so condemn,—as we should be to wave our just privileges, and, if need were, to sacrifice them to the common peace of Christendom. This was a more noble and a more speedy way to a re-union, than a Pharisaical 'compassing of

[Matt. xxiii. 15.

p [Bed., ibid.]
q [Blondel., Apolog. &c., p. 371.]
r [Act. Concil. Herudford. (A. D. 673.) can. 4, ap. Labb., Concil., tom. vi. p. 538. For Hereford, in the text, read Herford.]

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sea and land, to make particular proselytes of all those, whom either a natural levity, or want of judgment, or discontent, or despair to see the Church of England re-established, or extreme poverty and expectation of some supply, have prepared for their baits; whom they do not court more until they have gained them, than they neglect after they think they have them sure, as daily experience doth teach us.

CHAP. X.

THE CONCLUSION OF THIS TREATISE.

[Of the Answer to La Milletière.]

THIS is the treatise of schism intimated in my answer to Monsieur de la Milletière[s], but not promised by me, who know nothing of the impression[t], nor should have judged it proper to give an English answer to a French author. However, being published, I own it, except the errors of the press: among which I desire the Christian reader to take notice especially of one, because it perverts the sense. It is noted in the margin[u].

[Hard condition of the English exiles.]

They who have composed minds free from distracting cares, and means to maintain them, and friends to assist them, and their books and notes by them, do little imagine with what difficulties poor exiles struggle, whose minds are more intent on what they should eat to-morrow, than what they should write, being chased as vagabonds into the merciless world to beg relief of strangers:—a hard condition, that, when the meanest creatures are secured from that fear of wanting necessary sustenance by the bounty of God and nature,—that only men, the best of creatures, should be subjected to it by undeserved cruelty. Peruse all the histories of the latest wars, among Dutch, French, Swedes, Danes, Spaniards, Poles, Tartars, and Turks, and you shall not meet with the like hard measure. Did the king of Spain conquer a town from the Hollanders? He acquired a new dominion, but the property of private men continued the same. Did the Hollanders take in a town from the Spaniard? They made

[s] [Answ. to La Milletière, pp. 36, 60. of this vol.]

[t] [i. e. of the Answ. to La Milletière.]

[u] P. [45], l. [32], for "Neither do you," read "Moreover you do," [as corrected in this edition.]

provision for the very cloisterers, during their lives. So did our Henry the Eighth also at the dissolution of the Abbeys. 'Violent things last not long.'

Or if exiles can subsist without begging, yet they are necessitated to do or suffer things otherwise not so agreeable to them: wherein they deserve the pity of all good men. When Alexander had conquered Darius, and found many Grecians in his army, "he commanded to detain the Athenians prisoners, because, having means to live at home, they chose rather to serve a Barbarian; and the Thessalians, because they had a fruitful country of their own to till: but (said he) suffer the Thebans to go free, for we have left them neither a city to live in, nor fields to till [x]." This is our condition.

When the free exercise of the Roman religion was prohibited in England, and they wanted seminaries at home for the education of their youth, and means of ordination; yet, by the bounty of foreign princes, and much more by the free contribution of our own countrymen of that communion, they had colleges founded abroad for their subsistence. So careful were they to propagate and perpetuate their religion in their native country. The last age before these unhappy
7 troubles was as fruitful in works of piety and charity done by Protestants, as any one preceding age since the conversion of Britain: and, although we cannot hope for that foreign assistance which they found, yet might we have expected a larger supply from home, by as much as our professors are much more numerous than theirs were. Hath the sword devoured up all the charitable Obadiahs in our land? or is there no man that lays "the affliction of Joseph" to heart? Yet God, that maintained His people in the wilderness without the ordinary supply of food or raiment, will not desert us, until "He turn our captivity as the rivers in the South." Where human help faileth, Divine begins.

[1 Kings xviii. 4.] [Amos vi. 6.] [Deut. viii. 3, 4. xxix. 5, 6.] [Ps. cxxvi. 4.]

But to draw to a conclusion.—We have seen in this short treatise how the Court of Rome hath been the cause of all the differences and broils between the emperors with other Christian princes and states, and the Popes [y]. We have seen that from the excesses, abuses, innovations, and extortions, of

[Recapitulation.]

[x] Plutarch. [Apophthegm. Regum, in Alexand., num. 22, Op. Moral., tom. i. p. 504. ed. Wyttenb.]

[y] [c. vi. pp. 179-192. c. vii. pp. 207, &c. c. viii. pp. 246, &c.]

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that Court, have sprung all the schisms of the Eastern and Western Church, and of the Occidental Church within itself[z]. We have heard the confession of Pope Adrian, that "for some years by-past many things to be abominated had been in that holy See, abuses in spiritual matters, excesses in commands, and all things out of order." We have heard his promise "to endeavour the reformation of his own Court, from whence peradventure all the evil did spring, that, as corruption did flow from thence to the inferior parts, so might health and reformation: to which he accounted himself so much more obliged, by how much he did see the whole world greedily desire a reformation[a]." We have viewed the representation which nine selected Cardinals and prelates did make upon their oaths to Paul the Third; that 'this lying flattering principle,' that "the Pope is the lord of all benefices, and therefore could not be simoniacal," was "the fountain, from whence, as from the Trojan horse, so many abuses and so grievous diseases had broken into the Church, and brought it to a desperate condition, to the derision of Christian religion, and blaspheming of the name of Christ," and that "the cure must begin there, from whence the disease did spring[b]." We may remember the memorial of the king of Spain, and the whole kingdom of Castile; that "the abuses of the Court of Rome gave occasion to all the reformations and schisms of the Church[c]:"—and the complaint of the king and kingdom of Portugal; that "for these reasons many kingdoms had withdrawn their obedience and reverential respect from the Church of Rome[d]." These were no Protestants. The first step to health, is to know the true cause of our disease.

[How far the Protestant and Roman Churches are reconcileable.]

It hath been long debated, whether the Protestant and Roman Churches be reconcileable or not. Far be it from me to make myself a judge of that controversy. Thus much I have observed, that they who understand the fewest controversies, make the most, and the greatest. If questions were truly stated by moderate persons, both the number and the height would be much abated. Many differences are grounded upon mistakes of one another's sense. Many are

[z] [c. viii. pp. 247, &c.]
[a] [c. vii. pp. 207, 208. note a.]
[b] [c. vii. p. 208. note d.]
[c] [c. vii. p. 196, note r.]
[d] [c. vii. p. 238, note a.]

mere logomachies or contentions about words. Many are merely scholastical, above the capacity and apprehension of ordinary brains. And many doubtless are real, both in *credendis* and *agendis*—both in doctrine and discipline. But whether the distance be so great, or how far any of these are necessary to salvation, or do intrench upon the fundamentals of religion, requires a serious, judicious, and impartial consideration. There is great difference between the reconciliation of the persons, and the reconciliation of the opinions. Men may vary in their judgments, and yet preserve Christian unity and charity in their affections one towards another, so as the errors be not destructive to fundamental articles.

I determine nothing, but only crave leave to propose a question to all moderate Christians, who love the peace of the Church, and long for the re-union thereof:—in the first place, if the Bishop of Rome were reduced from his universality of sovereign jurisdiction *jure Divino*, to his "*principium unitatis*," and his Court regulated by the canons of the Fathers, which was the sense of the Councils of Constance and Basle, and is desired by many Roman Catholics as well as we: secondly, if the Creed or necessary points of faith were reduced to what they were in the time of the four first Œcumenical Councils, according to the decree of the third general Council[e] (who dare say that the Faith of the primitive Fathers was insufficient?), admitting no additional articles, but only necessary explications; and those to be made by the authority of a general Council, or one so general as can be convocated: and, lastly, supposing that some things from whence offences [are] either given or taken (which, whether right or wrong, do not weigh half so much as the unity of Christians), were put out of Divine offices, which would not be refused if animosities were taken away and charity restored:—I say, in case these three things were accorded, which seem very reasonable demands, whether Christians might not live in a holy communion, and join in the same public worship of God, free from all schismatical separation of themselves one from another, notwithstanding diversities of opinions, which prevail even among the members of the same particular Churches, both with them and us.

[e] Concil. Ephes., Part ii. Act. 6. c. 5. [ap. Labb., Concil., tom. iii. p. 689. A.]

ERRATA.

P. iii,	note a,	*for* "XV,"	*read* "XVI."
— vi,	—— v,	"Colborne,"	"Golbourn."
— x,	—— t,	"IX,"	"VIII."
— xiii,	—— k,	"XV,"	"XVI."
— xxxvi,	l. 11.	"five,"	"nine."
— 34,	note q.	"Nelson,"	"Nalson."
— 60,	margin,	"5,"	"p. 5."
— 174,	margin,	"1110,"	"1510."
In first half of the Volume		"Usher,"	"Ussher."

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